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KHANDESH BHIL CORPS.

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Dedicated

TO LOVERS OF KHANDESH.

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A MEMOIR

OF THE

KHANDESH BHIL CORPS

1825-1891

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL RECORDS

BY

A. H. A. SIMCOX, I.C.S.

Collector, East Khandesh

WITH A PREFACE BY

Lieut.-Col. R. M. BETHAM, the 101st Grenadiers

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PREFACE.

IN these prosaic days, the "Pax Britannica" having been established throughout India, it is hard to realize that, not so very long ago, the country was overrun by armed gangs, and that a state of lawlessness, somewhat similar to that which now prevails among the tribes on the North-West Frontier, existed.

These gangs proved a veritable pest in their immediate neighbourhood. They terrorised the populace by murder, looting, robberies and dacoities. It was, therefore incumbent on the Government to take steps to establish law and order in those provinces where such gangs existed.

The employment of regular troops proved unsatisfactory: It was found that their discipline suffered on being split up into small detachments, and that they contracted much sickness by serving in unhealthy localities. Further, it was not always politic to use them, and the cost was prohibitive.

These circumstances led to the formation of Local Corps, such as the Khandesh Bhil Corps. The wisdom of the decision arrived at, subsequent events have abundantly proved.

The object in raising a Local Corps is to restore order in a lawless District and to preserve it thereafter. This is effected by inducing those who take to the road, as the Bhils did, to join its ranks. At the start, it is a difficult task. Men who have been in the habit of plundering, murdering, robbing and looting, are most difficult to allure into the net of discipline. They are suspicious and look askance. It must be pointed out to them that an honest livelihood is preferable to one connected with theft, robbery and crime, which punishment is sure to follow.

Once prejudice and fears have been alayed, it is self evident that these are the very men required. They are brave to a fault; no enterprize is too daring for them; they are acquainted with every hill path, refuge, retreat and forest in the Province. It is also more than probable that all the bad characters are known to them.

To make them law-abiding subjects, however, is no light task. The best method to obtain this end is that their officers should endeavour to enlist them personally, to shew them that they trust them and mean to be their friends, and then to make them understand that much is expected of them. After this come drill and discipline,

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proper clothing and housing. So much effected they gradually learn to see that an honest living is the best. At first any material that offers must be accepted. Later it is better to restrict recruiting to young men. The advantage of this is that they are more easily led and instructed, as well as weaned from bad habits, should such have been unfortunately contracted.

The duties of a Local Corps are dual. They require to be sufficiently well drilled and disciplined to be able to take the field alone, or beside the regulars. In times of peace their duties are akin to those of the Police.

When it is necessary to raise a new Corps, it is evident that the officer selected for the duty should be possessed of exceptional qualities. Great administrative ability is not the only consideration, he must be capable of winning the affection and confidence of those with whom he will be required to serve. It was indeed fortunate for the welfare of the Khandesh Bhil Corps, that the choice fell on Outram, the Bayard of the East, of whom it can be truthfully said that he was "Sans peur et sans reproche." Although but 22 years of age when the task of raising the Corps was assigned him, he proved he was fully capable of coping with it. It is more than probable that the experience gained then, combined with the responsibilities connected therewith, had much to do with the formation of his character, and led up to his brilliant achievements in later life.

While perusing the records of "The Khandesh Bhil Corps" so ably collated by Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, one cannot fail to be interested, nor can one but acknowledge the wonderful services the Bhils performed, and how extraordinarily useful they proved themselves to be. As one closes the pages of the book a tinge of regret appears at the thought that this gallant body of men no longer exists, and that its extinction is due almost entirely to the part the Corps itself played in restoring law and order in Khandesh. There is, however, one consolation, namely, that the past can never be taken from the Corps. In publishing these records Mr. Simcox serves to keep its memory green and appeals not only to "lovers of Khandesh," but to all lovers of brave men and their deeds of daring.

R. M. BETHAM, Lieut.-Col.,
The 101*st Grenadiers.*

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD.

THOSE who dwell nowadays in the Bombay Presidency live in a peace so profound, that it may seem to them difficult to imagine any very different conditions. That the Marathas were once the most feared race in India, that hordes of ill-paid mercenary Arabs wandered armed and oppressed the country in the name of this or that master, that the Bhils descended from their eyries and swept the plains of many a fair district, that the Pindaris were a constant menace on the eastern frontier; all these things influence modern life as much, and are as often in the public mind, as the Wars of the Roses in England. Yet it were not well that the names and deeds of the great men to whom we owe our present peace and comfort be forgotten. It is true that so long as an Englishman remains in India, the name of Outram can never die. But even Outram is remembered at Lucknow and forgotten in Bombay. That he worked as hard, and sacrificed himself as readily, when he was a Subaltern as when he was a General, is little known. As for the many other less prominent, but still admirable, men whose names appear in this book, it would be safe to say that few of the present generation have even heard of them. In fact, many of their names are better kept alive in the traditions of the country people than in the literature of the educated.

Where would be the prosperity of Bombay, if every available acre in Khandesh were not sown with cotton? What would be the feelings of the soldiers at Poona, Ahmednagar, and Aurangabad if they were required to patrol the Satpuras and Satmalas in force every season? Not a soldier now remains in the Province, nor is the need of military force ever felt. Ravenous beasts are so scarce, that it is hardly worth while for the shikari to come to Khandesh.

I trust I have given sufficient reason for this book, a small addition to the glorious traditions of the Bombay Presidency, both military and civil.

My readers will please note that I have assumed a general knowledge of contemporary history, and more particularly of the events of 1818 and of 1857-58. I have not attempted comparisons of local events with those occurring elsewhere, nor connexions between local events and the general history of India, but have confined myself to the history of the Province and its local corps, seeking only to keep alive the memory of great men and great deeds, and leaving my readers to compare, connect, and conclude as they will.

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I make no excuse for quoting freely from official letters, quaint as is sometimes their language. Nor have I attempted to 'hunterianize' the spelling of the old records. It is familiar enough to those who know India, that what was once Candeish is now Khandesh, that Dhurrungaum and Dharangaon are the same place, and that Bhyria is phonetic for Baherya. I must plead guilty to having placed a few stops in some of the old letters. Critics may possibly say that I have not placed enough. If one might find fault with Outram, one would say that his sentences are longer, more pauseless and breathless than his forced marches.

It remains to express my gratitude to those who have assisted me. Sir F. B. Outram has most kindly sent me many interesting family records, on which I have freely indented. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has assisted me with valuable suggestions. Mr. R. D. Bell, Under Secretary to Government, has had the Secretariat files searched, and Mr. Balvant Mahadeo, the Record-keeper, has kindly sent me the files I needed, and has even been at pains to mark the pages for me. Mr. Curtis has also sent me some extracts from the Commissioner's records. Mr. K. R. Bamanji, Collector of West Khandesh, has been most kind in allowing me the use of many of his office files. Colonel Burrard, Director-General of Indian Surveys, has had the accompanying map prepared for me. The Officers Commanding the Regiments from which the Bhil Corps officers were drawn and the Station Staff Officer, Poona, have kindly searched their regimental records for information regarding those officers, not always with success. Sir Lesley Probyn, Mr. Crawley Boevey, Dr. Pollen, Mr. M. Kennedy, and Mr. H. M. Gibbs have supplied me with reminiscences of Oliver Probyn. Last, but not least, my dear wife has copied out for me all the extracts from old records embodied in the book. Timeworn and crabbed as many of them were, the task was not an easy one. To all these I render my sincere thanks, and trust the result may not disappoint them.

The binding is an attempt to reproduce Outram's old colours, dark blue with green facings, and the Mutiny medal which the Corps so well earned.

Judge, criticize, condemn as you will, yet be a little merciful to one of your number, for to you, as the title page says, I commend my work, O Lovers of Khandesh.

A. H. A. SIMCOX.

CAMP AT RAVER,
16*th January* 1912.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PROVINCE OF KHANDESH.

THE limits of the Province of Khandesh have been differently described at various periods. In the "Ain-i-Akbari" is an account of the Subah of Dandesh, also named Khandesh. The compiler of that work states that Jamod, now in Berar, is the eastern boundary of the Subah, and gives Laling near Dhulia as the western limit. Nothing is said about the southern boundary, and Pal is the only place mentioned on the north. Asirgadh is stated to be the residence of the Governor, and brief notes are given about several other towns. It is noticeable that all the towns mentioned are in the eastern half of the province, except one, Thalner, which is on the Tapti river in Shirpur Taluka. The western half of the province is practically ignored. Probably the reason is that the main through route of those days was from north-east to south-west, through the Asirgadh gorge, across East Khandesh, and up the Ajanta Pass into the Deccan towards Daulatabad and Ahmednagar. The compiler of "Ain-i-Akbari" further assigns Nandurbar to Malva Subha, and treats Baglan as an independent region, rightly belonging to Gujarat. The Subha is said to be populated by Kunbis, Bhils, and Gonds, all very industrious, and the last named famous for taming lions.

Tavernier, the French diamond merchant who travelled all over India in the days of Aurangzib, made his starting point at Surat, and travelled through Khandesh at least twice. He, however, does not allude to territorial divisions, but only gives itineraries. He mentions Navapur as producing the best rice in India, and Burhanpur as being a place of importance. He also has a story about Ankai Fort, near Manmad.

Ferishta again does not mention the boundaries of Khandesh though he often refers to the local dynasty, which claimed to be descended from the Khalif Umar.

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In more recent times, up to the beginning of British rule, the province finds little notice in history. Its people are, and apparently always have been, attached to the soil, loth to emigrate, averse to any service which might take them outside visiting distance of their native towns. They have always paid the demands of whatever conquerors might happen to be their overlords for the time being. All they have asked is to be let alone to cultivate their lands. They have never produced a leader of men, who should marshal his compatriots to conquest. But however little the people of the province may have cherished ambition, the various foreign conquerors who from time to time passed through Khandesh did not fail to observe its rich soil and abundant capacity for producing revenue. It will suffice, as evidence of this, to describe the state of Khandesh at the beginning of British rule in 1818. Sindia then held the parganas of Chopda, Pachora, and Yaval, and many isolated villages. Holkar laid claim to large tracts in the province, and it was indeed on the cession of his claims by the treaty of Mandleshwar that the Company first entered the province, in order to take over the ceded tracts. The Nizam had overstepped the Satmalas in the south and had dominion over many villages. The Peshva claimed the remainder of the province and had many resident Jahagirdars and officers, the chief of whom was the Rajabahadur of Malegaon. Parola was a fief of the crown of Jhansi. The Nawab of Wai claimed feudal rights over the pargana of Erandol, and the Gaikwad over those parts of Baglan which are dominated by the hill fort of Saler. Asirgadh and Burhanpur were overrun by Pindari chiefs. On the Satmala Hills, the Satpura Mountains, and the Akrani were many semi-independent Bhil chieftains.

By conquest, forfeiture, exchange, or lapse, most of these foreign overlords have vanished, and the province may now be described as all British. The natural frontier to the south has, however, never been reasserted, the tehsil of Burhanpur has since very early times been considered to be part of the Central Provinces, and the remainder of the province has been cut up to form part of the district of Nasik, and more recently the two districts of East and West Khandesh.

Territorially and ethnographically the boundaries of Khandesh are well defined. On the north lie the Satpura Mountains, from

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Kathi State to Asirgadh. On the south is the Satmala and Ajanta Range from the Sahyadris to the border of Berar, having only one small gap between Chandor and Manmad, through which the Great Indian Peninsula Railway main line now runs. On the west are the Sahyadris or Western Ghats, as far as the Tapti, and north of that river the Kathi Hills, and on the east the rough range of hills lying between Jamner, Edalabad, and the Berars.

In short, the province consists of the basins of the Tapti and its affluents from Asirgadh on the east to the Sahyadris on the west. Within these limits the people of the soil, though themselves split up into innumerable castes and divisions, are so far an united whole that they will not intermarry with those from outside, and that they have always maintained a peculiar set of weights and measures.

There is no written history of Khandesh. The caves of Ajanta are within its territorial limits, and those of Ellora only just outside. There are also cave temples at Patna in the Chalisgaon Taluka. Judging by the importance of these monuments, it may be assumed that in Buddhist days, and in the time when Hinduism re-asserted itself, Khandesh was no unimportant province. There is an ancient temple in the Shirpur Satpuras which has on one side a Buddha, and on the other the boar-avatar of Vishnu. Many ancient monolithic temples, wells, and tanks exist all over the province. These are usually assigned by tradition either to the Pandavs or to the "Gaoli Rajas." Though there is no history of the Gaoli Rajas, the universality of the tradition that they existed indicates that in pre-Mussulman days the province must have owned some dynasty of Hindu kings, whose revenue was derived from the forests.

Most of the plains of Khandesh would appear to have been in prehistoric times a lake or inland sea. There are distinct beaches of water-worn pebbles and boulders to be found in many places at the foot of the Satpura and Satmala Hills. The plain itself undulates, but not to a great extent, and averages some 700 feet above sea level. There are, however, isolated ranges of low hills in the interior, rising sometimes to 1,200 feet. At the west end, the plain rises rapidly towards the Sahyadris. The surrounding mountains are usually precipitous, and have been

cut by the action of water into a variety of craggy peaks, varying in height from 5,000 feet to 2,500 feet. In many cases the isolated peaks are formed of enormous blocks of black basalt, with level tops, and sides scarped to a depth of several hundreds of feet. So perpendicular are the sides of the scarps, that many of them appear as if they had been artificially formed. Such peaks are invariably called 'Killa,' and every one of them shows more or less signs of having been rendered defensible. If the scarp was naturally inaccessible, one or more staircases were cut in it, and defended with doorways. If there were weak points in the scarp, they were protected by parapet walls. It is a curious fact that though these hills are isolated peaks, and though the basalt is most impervious to water, yet, at certain levels, more or less distant from the top, a little excavation has succeeded in discovering a sure and perennial supply of pure water. Every one of these forts has one or more cave tanks, generally rectangular in plan, and often deepening as the excavation goes further into the rock, containing water. Every fort also has one or more dry caves, evidently used as residences, or as store rooms for grain or ammunition. Luxuriant grass is always to be found on the hill tops. More admirable places for refuge or defence could not be imagined. From the form of the excavation it seems that these forts, though usually called 'Maratha Forts,' have been used from very ancient times. Though seldom ornamented, as in the case of Ellora and Ajanta, with sculpture or painting, the water caves and dry caves present all the appearance of Buddhist cells. Moreover, the Maratha genius was destructive, not constructive. Had the Maratha Kings or Peshvas undertaken works so extensive and laborious as the excavation of these chambers, the fact could not fail to have been noticed in history. The west and south frontiers of the province abound in these isolated forts. The Satpuras on the north have not so many, but the whole range is inaccessible in the extreme, and affords countless hiding places.

On the plains every town and village of importance was strongly fortified. Some, like Malegaon and Parola, were surrounded by chains of bastions connected by curtains and surrounded by a moat or dry ditch, with an elaborate citadel-palace at one angle. In smaller villages the outer walls of the houses themselves were built so as to form a continuous curtain wall, independent bastions being

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provided at each gateway. The number and elaborateness of the fortifications and places of refuge surely indicate a perpetual dread of attack. It has been noted above that the people of Khandesh are neither bloodthirsty, warlike, nor ambitious. It is not likely, then, that each town, as on the North-west Frontier, was fortified against the attacks of its neighbours. Foreign enemies certainly have been shown to have passed and repassed, sometimes plundering and marching away, sometimes remaining as conquerors. Even these enemies, however, appeared but rarely in the course of centuries, and do not suffice to account for the continual need of security shown in a province whose every village was a fortress, and whose every *patil* closed his village gates on himself, his belongings, and the folk in his charge every night. It follows that the province must have been infested with ever-present foes, who might appear in any numbers on any day or any night, and against whom every village must needs be constantly on the watch. That such foes existed, and in what manner they were rendered harmless, it is the purpose of this memoir to explain.

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CHAPTER II.

THE BHILS.

FROM a point north of Udaipur, over a triangular space, of which the base is roughly the south boundary of the Province of Khandesh, are found the Bhils.* Short, black, snub-nosed, usually ugly, but withal of a cheerful expression, they are easily distinguished from their neighbours. For it is only in a few very wild patches of jungle that the population is exclusively Bhil. In cultivated tracts they are found, a small colony on the outskirts of each village, combining in their persons the varied attributes of village police, bird-scarers and watchers of crops, general sportsmen, helots, Picts and Scots, and ordinary footpads. They are, undoubtedly, one of the chief remaining tribes of those people who inhabited the Peninsula of India before the Aryan incursion; the inhabitants of the Dakshina-vana, known to Sanskrit authors only as monkeys and goblins. To this day, though they have adopted many Hindu customs, and speak languages largely borrowed from the Hindus among whom they live, they are tacitly recognized as non-Hindu. They live cheek by jowl with the untouchable, the scavengers, and cobblers; they are coupled with such out-castes in ordinary parlance. Yet a Bhil may enter a temple or a house without defiling it, just as a Mussulman or a Christian may. He is not part of the scheme of caste at all. Further, the heir of the Sun, in whose veins flows the bluest blood in the world, the acknowledged head of all Rajputana, is not established on his throne till he has received on his forehead the tilak from the Bhil, who is a more ancient lord of the soil than the offspring of Rama himself.

*An accurate description of their habitat may be found in the Introduction to Vol. IX, Part III, of the "Linguistic Survey of India" by Dr. G. A. Grierson.

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Mr. Rudyard Kipling has given a vivid picture of many Bhil characteristics in "The Tomb of His Ancestors," one of the tales in "A Day's Work." Savage in habits, suspicious of civilization, yet faithful as a dog to the master who has won his confidence, the Bhil fears the Government doctor, whom he suspects as being little better than the witches of his own tribe; and yet he cheerfully faces a tiger on foot, though he is naked and only armed with a spear or bow and arrows.

Unfortunately for the Province of Khandesh, the uncertainty of its government during the years previous to British rule, and the exorbitant demands of officials, authorized or unauthorized, had reduced the cultivators to such distress that they were barely able to maintain themselves, much less those dependent on them. In every village and on every mountain road the Bhils were the hereditary local police. In return for patrolling the village lands, destroying wild beasts, and escorting travellers through passes, they claimed maintenance from the villagers. In times of plenty this was cheerfully given, but the wars and oppressions of that period caused universal poverty and distress. Many villages were deserted altogether, and the inhabitants of those that remained cultivated such lands as they could, but were immediately plundered of the produce by the officers of the various Governments.

At the time when police was most needed there was no food for the police. The Bhils, as true hill men, instinctively turned to their native hills. They forsook the villages which no longer maintained them, formed themselves into gangs, and took up positions in the mountains. Each gang found a leader in the person of the most daring robber of its number, and commenced to earn its living by highway robbery, and by nightly descents on villages from which money, valuables, or cattle could be secured. So weak were the various Governments that instead of trying to reduce or exterminate the gangs by force of arms, they would endeavour to placate them by ransom and tribute, not with the idea of inducing them to return to peaceful pursuits, but in order to cause them to maraud in other people's territories. The Nizam's officers and those of Holkar and Scindia seem to have kept the Bhils more or less regularly supplied, may even to have systematically shared in their

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plunder. Consequently the Bhil raids were oftenest directed into Khandesh. Those who had been the guardians of the peace became the bitterest foes of the people. Captain Briggs, the first Political Agent in Khandesh, remarks as follows on this subject :—

"From all I can learn the Police of Candeish was originally entrusted to the Bhils and along the banks of the Tapty to the colies who during the time it is not fordable are employed in working the boats or rafts on that river. Under the former Government when they administered direct control over the province, the Police intelligence was entirely entrusted to the Bhils and the colies, the executive part to the Sibundies. There were a certain number of Bhils in each village who had lands or a portion of the crops granted to them for their maintenance, and whose duty it was to conduct strangers beyond their limits and make them over in safety to the next village Bhils.

"They were the watchmen at night, they sat and protected passes during the day and night, and they guarded the cultivated fields. In these duties they were most useful to the inhabitants, but circumstances have driven the greatest part of them to seek shelter in the hills and they have now become the scourge of their own country. My detailed reports on the Bhils will have sufficiently informed you of their present condition and of the means which I have taken to induce them to abandon their habits. In each district Bhil naiqs or chiefs were appointed to superintend the whole of the village Bhils, and the remains of this system is still maintained in the Districts of Gungturry, north of the Godavery, and in some of the Southern Districts of Candeish.

"The poverty of the ryots has induced them in the first instance to withhold the payments of the Bhils, the latter driven to necessity have taken to highway robbery, and the manner in which the Bhils who still remain in villages are treated is sufficient to drive them to desperation. In Candeish the prospect of plundering with impunity has, with other circumstances, deprived the villages of most of

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their watchmen and the forests and brushwood which cover the face of the country for many miles together are peculiarly advantageous for their attacks and favour their escape. Highway robberies attended with the most wanton and barbarous murders are committed daily, and it is with the greatest difficulty a few offenders have been secured in order to make examples.

"I am convinced from the experience I have had that such are the activity and intelligence of the Bhils that no robbery is committed without their gaining immediate information of it, and those in whose vicinity these acts are committed generally share in the booty."

Captain Ovans, first Southern Bhil Agent, also writes a similar account of the Satmala Bhils previous to 1818.

"The disturbances succeeding this unhappy period served to increase the confidence of these bands, and to recruit their strength. Many of the Naiks now assumed the state of petty Rajas, and kept regular bodies of armed men in their pay for the purposes of plunder. The evil, too, was only increased by the attempts of the Native Governments to correct it. They did not hesitate to employ fraud, as well as open force, to effect their object, and many cruel massacres of the Bhils are said to have taken place. Seeing, therefore, that their extermination was determined upon, they at last became utterly desperate, and avenged themselves on the surrounding country by such atrocities, as caused their very name to be equally dreaded and abhorred by the inhabitants."

It is true that there were at least two other classes of marauders, distinct from the Bhils, who also preyed on Khandesh. One of these was the Pindari tribe, whose hunting-grounds extended westwards as far as the Asirgadh Hills, and who occasionally raided Khandesh. They did not fail to find adherents, imitators, and harbourers in the Tadvi and Nahal Bhils of the Satpuras.

Another class of desperadoes was the Arab contingent, imported in the latter years of the Peshwas' rule. These Arabs formed the garrisons of some of the more important towns, but

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were also found in small detachments, serving whatever master payed them best, and never failing to desert and plunder him when his exchequer showed signs of emptiness. How well they could fight may be read in the description by Captain Briggs of the siege of Malegaon, reproduced in the Nasik District Gazetteer. That they turned their well-known bravery to account in tyrannising over the wretched villagers, and extorting from them money and valuables, is proved by the correspondence of the early Political Agents and Collectors, who found that the only way of being rid of their importunities was to place them under guard, march them to Surat, and ship them back to Arabia.

The Arabs, however, were a temporary importation, and the Pindaris were but occasional visitors to one part of the province. The Bhils were a standing menace to the whole country.

Amongst themselves, the Bhils are divided into a number of septs. They imitate those near them in a most extraordinary way, and the Hindu caste system has, no doubt, influenced them in sub-dividing themselves into what they themselves call 'castes.' These castes, however, are more of the nature of local than tribal divisions. They are mostly known by local names, as Konkani Bhils, Adnadi Bhils, and so forth. All will eat and drink together, and whether they will intermarry seems more a matter of chance than aught else. The truth appears to be that they assimilate themselves to their surroundings. They are in a rough way remarkable linguists. Anyone who has watched a Bhil in Court will notice that he makes a fair success of answering the Brahman Vakil in Marathi, the Mussulman Policeman and the presiding Sahib in Hindustani, while to his fellow prisoners he talks his own patois. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Bhils of the plains of Khandesh should more or less resemble the farmers there, while those near the Sahyadris, where the farmers are Konkanis, Varlis, Mavchis, and other wild tribes, should emulate their neighbours' wildness. So primitive are the cultivating classes near the Dangs, that only fifteen years ago it was possible for a white man to visit villages, where one of his colour had never been yet seen, where the villagers would come out and worship him as a god, while his escort of Bhil policemen from the plains called them 'jungle people' and amused themselves by hunting the children up the trees like squirrels or

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monkeys. There resided in one such village a man who in his youth was arrested for murder and transported. Having served his twenty years he was released and sent back to his native village strong, well-fed, and well-clothed. He walked into the village, where no one knew him. As, however, he pointed quite correctly, saying, 'here is Rama's house,' and 'there is Hari's field,' he was hailed, *faute de mieux*, as a god. He accepted his unearned position, and lived respected, on the fat of the land, for the rest of his days. If the landowners were so primitive in those parts, the Bhils could not fail to be equally savage, or more so.

The Bhil septs, it would appear, probably originated in differences of territory and surroundings. There is, however, one division of the race which has to be otherwise accounted for, namely, the Tadvis or Mussulman Bhils of the north-east of the province. This tribe asserts as its tradition that the Tadvis were originally Bhils, but were forcibly converted to Mahommadanism in the times of the Mussulman Emperors. The tradition may be accepted as substantially correct, for the Tadvis are those Bhils who live nearest to Burhanpur, the Mussulman capital. Also, they are to this day three parts Bhil and only one Mussulman in nature. They grow more or less unsuccessful beards, some of them are called by Mussulman names, and on the occasion of marriages they consult the Kazi. But against this it must be allowed that having consulted the Kazi they invite a Brahman to perform the actual ceremony, that they never worship in mosques, nor build any in their villages, that they keep Hindu as well as Mussulman festivals, either being an excellent excuse for getting drunk. Also, they claim the Hindu right of adoption, and if they own allegiance to any gods, it is to the bogies and ogres of the hills, Vaghdevs, Nagdevs, and Dongardevs, who are the dread of all Bhils.

As a general rule, the Bhil family is a happy one. The parents are devoted each to the other, and to their children, of whom there are usually many. The rough and poverty-stricken life of the Bhils, with its irregular hours and uncertain food, causes the infant mortality to be large, and prevents the rapid spread of the race.

On festal occasions, however, Bhils are apt to get frequently and hopelessly drunk. Sometimes their women share in the orgy,

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sometimes not. In any case they are often beaten or driven away. It is hardly to be wondered at if there occur many lapses from virtue, and if many children are born with only one Bhil parent. A certain broad-minded charity, however, is shewn to such errors. The religious and formal prayaschita of the Hindus is dispensed with, but the practical adjunct to it is insisted on. In other words, the erring family provides a great feed, with plenty of liquor, to the caste, that is, to the principal Bhils of the neighbourhood. This done, the repentant lady, with her child or even children, are received back, and are thereafter considered as no better and no worse than any others. Hence, moderately fair complexions, and regular or aquiline features, are by no means uncommon among Bhils.

The Bhils dress as the surrounding Hindus of the poorer classes do. The men wear a loin-cloth, with a dhotar or two if circumstances permit, and a red pagdi which varies from Maratha-like respectability to a seemingly chance collection of wisps of red rag. A ghongadi or country blanket of wool is added for covering at night, if available, and in days of great prosperity there may be a pair of silver kadas or plain bracelets. The women wear a sari and bodice, a few glass or silver bangles and necklaces, and perhaps anklets or toe rings. Some of the semi-Bhil tribes, such as the Mavchis and Pavras, are extravagant in female ornament. The Mavchis load their women with hundreds of necklaces of white beads made of cut oyster shells, so that the wearer cannot rest her chin on her chest, and is fain to walk, as they themselves say, with her head stuck out like a she-buffalo. The Pavra ladies wear thick brass anklets right up to their knees, and have to sit with legs extended, saying that it is a shame to them to squat. Such extravagances, however, are not found among true Bhils.

Orthodox Bhils, both men and women, wear the hair long and knotted at the back of the head. Those of the men, however, who have lived long in the plains, generally adopt the Hindu fashion for men of shaving the head and leaving only the top-knot. Some cut their hair in the English way.

The national weapons are the bow, used with arrows or stones, the ordinary axe, the spear, and the long battle-axe. The bows are some five feet long, made of bamboo. The strings are of thin

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slices of bamboo, noosed at the ends with raw hide. The arrows are tipped with spear-like iron heads, and feathered from the vulture's wing. For shooting birds and small game the points are covered with a small hard wood-apple, causing them to strike a stunning blow without mutilating the game. Smaller bows are also used with double strings, having between them a small pouch from which stones or bullets are propelled. The ordinary axe has a wedge-shaped head. It is used by most classes in Western India and needs no description. The spear has a bamboo shaft some six to eight feet long, and a flat, two-edged, pointed head. The battle-axe or Chandrabhan is a most graceful weapon. Its shaft is four or five feet long. The blade is in the form of a crescent with its points reflexed. It is provided with a socket at the back for the shaft and is kept very sharp. The centre of the blade is very powerful and can be used for clearing jungle, while the ends will pare the nails or point a pencil.

The Bhils have never taken kindly to guns. True, many have been trained to use them, but they are seldom either careful or skilful in handling them. They prefer to rely on their extraordinary tracking powers, jungle instinct, and ability to render themselves invisible, to approach their enemy, man or beast, within striking distance. The description of the Gonds in one of Mr. Kipling's "Jungle Book" stories applies very well to Bhils also.

The body politic, and military or civil organization, are almost entirely wanting. Bhil caste *panchayats* are very loosely modelled on Hindu patterns, and are generally willing to settle disputes in favour of the side which supplies the most drink. Individual families are extremely tenacious of their hereditary rights to police a village or guard a pass. There are a certain number of hereditary Bhil chieftains, but they have little real power. The leaders who arose from time to time, organized forces, and preyed on the country, were invariably men who attracted attention by some act of individual daring, usually a robbery with murder. They would retreat to the hills, and gather round them a band of desperadoes, willing to share the present loot and search for more. So long as the self-made leader could defy authority, his gang flourished. Let the leader be captured, slain, or reduced to submission, and his followers vanished as though they had never been. Each man

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resumed his peaceful life, not forgetting to observe where money was hoarded or cattle increased, so that if another Robin Hood should call him to the forest, he might have valuable information of plunder ready.

Such was the tribe, estimated by Colonel Robertson, the first Collector of Khandesh, to number one-eighth of the total population of the province, which was the perpetual menace to law and order. The Bhils' hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. Month by month and year by year cruelty, oppression, and crime drove them to the hills, where they formed themselves into bands under the most desperate and cunning of their number, and sallied forth to avenge their wrongs by rapine and murder.

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CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF KHANDESH, 1818–1825.

IN pursuance of the treaty of Mandleshvar with His Highness Holkar, Captain Briggs was deputed early in 1818 to occupy those parts of Khandesh which had been ceded to the Company. He arrived in Khandesh *via* the fort and pass of Sindva, by which route the Bombay-Agra road now passes. The first place to be occupied was Thalner on the Tapti. From thence the forces with Captain Briggs marched to Chandore, on the borders of Khandesh and the Deccan, the headquarters of the Agent of Holkar. Chandore was then a fortified town of great importance, dominated by one of the most impregnable of hill forts. Ramdas, agent of Holkar, after much prevarication surrendered the place in March 1818. It was either on the way to Chandore, or at that place, that the army must have heard of the prolonged operations succeeding the battle of Kirkee. Bajirao Peshva was in flight, somewhere near the Godavari, and was treating with Appa Saheb Bhonsle of Nagpur. The Pindaris as a power had been suppressed. With the exception of Trimbakji Denglya there was hardly a commander of note opposed to the Company. But as far as Khandesh was concerned, Captain Briggs soon found that armed occupation would be necessary. The Arab mercenaries, estimated by him at 6,000 or 7,000 strong, all good marksmen and of known bravery, were without a leader and in arrears of pay. They were willing to attach themselves to any freebooter who could offer them good pay and plunder. The hill forts were occupied by garrisons of varying strength, consisting of Arabs, or Sibandis (local irregular levies) or Bhils, or a combination of these. The forces with Captain Briggs had joined with the southern army in pursuit of Bajirao. It was necessary, therefore, to assemble a fresh army to reduce Khandesh. The attack began from the south. The powerful fort of Ankai near Manmad surrendered

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without a blow. Indrai, a vast rock near Chandore, was captured by a ruse, and the force sat down before Malegaon in May. Here was the headquarters of the Arabs, and the residence of the Raja-bahadur, a jahagirdar of the Peshva. This person led the British to suppose that the town and fort would be peacefully handed over. Whether his real intentions were honest but were nullified by the insubordination of his men or whether he wished to lead the British into a trap, will never be certain. At any rate, the gates of Malegaon were closed, and a long siege ensued. It was not till the monsoon was actually breaking that the fort was carried.

The troops were cantoned near Malegaon, which subsequently became one of the most important military stations of the Bombay Command. The Arab garrison was marched to Surat, placed on ships and deposited on the Arabian coast. The same treatment was allotted to all parties of Arabs found subsequently in Khandesh. The last important town held by them was Amalner, which surrendered in 1819. Thus one of the pests of the province was eradicated.

It will not be amiss to quote here at length Captain Briggs' own description of the province as he found it. Little excuse is needed for reproducing the first full report of the earliest British Administrator, after nearly one year's experience. The extraordinary mass of information which Captain Briggs had collected in a few months cannot fail both to surprise and interest the reader.

"Having now visited most of the districts in Candeish and having made personal observations and enquiries on the spot, I shall proceed to give such an account of it as appears material to have a tolerable acquaintance not only of the present condition of the country but of its resources and capability of future improvement.

"In a report of this nature, its history for many centuries back is immaterial, and I shall, therefore, take a mere outline without going into details. Candeish appears to have risen into a monarchy under the Mahomedans in the year 1370. A succession of eleven princes of the Farookea dynasty, was succeeded by the capture of Asserghar from Bahadur Shah, the last of his race, in 1599, and Burhanpore, the capital of the kingdom, became the residence of the Prince Daniel Mirza, one of the sons of Acbur.

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"At this period the name of Candeish was changed for that of Dandeish by which it is known in the ancient records, and the Dan-pisa, a copper coin also called after the same prince, is still sometimes found, but this appellation appears to have died with its author. Candeish continued under the Mahomedan Government till within the last fifty or sixty years, when it was overrun and eventually occupied by the Marathas and formed part of the dominions of the Rajah of Sattara. Portions of it were afterwards allotted to different officers of the Poona State for the maintenance of troops, and of these, those of the Houses of Hulkar and Scindia continued to be held by them up to the beginning of this year.

"Candeish properly so called is bounded on the south by the range of hills in which the forts of Kunhur, Unkye, and Chandore lie; on the north by the Satpoorah Mountains; on the east by the districts of Asseer, Zeinabad, Edlabad, Bodur, and Jamneir; and on the west by the hills and forest of Baglana:

"It was formerly one of the most productive provinces of its extent in the Deccan, and in the time of Acbur, it is spoken of as being celebrated for its cloth manufactures. At present there are some very coarse, bad cloths made in a few of the principal towns, and in those of Dhurangaun, Errundole, and Nusseerabad are some ordinary manufacturers of turbans and women's cloths of an inferior quality.

"The greatest part of the cloth now used in the province comes from the neighbouring tract of Berar, from whence it is first brought to Bodur and Nusseerabad, and travels through the hands of successive dealers on market days towards the centre and western parts of the districts These cloths are of a very poor description and sell from 1½ to 2½ rupees for each piece of a cubit and ½ wide and 24 cubits in length.

"The soil of Candeish is of various descriptions, those districts under the Satpoora Mountains and lying along both banks of the Tapty have a fine rich loam, which is extremely fruitful, that of the centre of Candeish running east and

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west from Bodur towards Bhamere is alternately gravelly and rich, to the south of this tract, it is more fertile, and before it approaches the southern hills, it becomes rich but is much interspersed with loam and stones. The district of Buglana and the tracts along the banks of the Tapty up to the Satpoora Hills are by far the most capable of improvement, and will eventually become the most productive portions of the province.

"Few countries are so favoured by nature with water as Candeish, the rivers in Buglana running to the eastward, and then suddenly turning to the northward flow into the Tapty which, rising in Goundwana, is itself a considerable stream before it reaches Changdewey, 18 miles south of Boorhanpoor. At this place the Poorna, after receiving most of the tributary streams of the valley of Berar, forms a junction with it, and entering Candeish the Tapty flows through it till it empties itself into the sea at Surat. The tributary streams of the Tapty whether running from the Satpoora Hills or from the Satmulla Hills or from Buglana flow so near the surface as to admit of their being turned to irrigate the country on each bank, and the fact of there remaining the ruins of 187 substantial dams of masonry to effect this purpose will give a tolerable notion of the state the cultivation had once reached. Each of these dams enables aqueducts to be formed from them of from 12 to 16 feet wide, and from two to three feet deep, running for several miles in length. The rapidity with which they run would serve to turn water mills of very considerable size, and there is little doubt but the inhabitants would, the moment they had the means, and they saw the advantages of the machinery, adopt their use for the purposes of grinding the grain, and expressing the oil seeds, and the sugarcane which now occupy so much of their time and manual labor.

"The enclosed list No. 1 exhibits the number and conditions of the several dams in Candeish, accompanied by an estimate made by each town of the sum necessary to bring the whole into use amounting to Rs. 2,14,900, the expense of

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which would be repaid to Government in less than 3 years by the increased rents on the land brought under irrigation, and I beg to draw your early attention to this important improvement in this branch of revenue.

"It was my wish to have collected some account of the quantity of the annual produce of the soil in kind, but I have been content with enclosing the accompanying paper No. 2 exhibiting the relative proportion of the several kinds of grain, etc., etc., cultivated in the districts under my charge, and this may serve to form a judgment, generally, of the actual nature of the produce, though as soon as the dams are repaired it may be expected that the rice and sugar crops as well as wheat will be considerably increased. The depopulated districts of Sultanpoor and Nandoorbar were once celebrated for their fruits, especially the vine-yards of Sultanpoor, but at present there is, perhaps, not a fruit garden in both districts.

"Amongst the natural curiosities of Candeish are the Hot Springs of the Satpoora Hills, particularly those of Soonup Dew and Oonup Dew, the former in the district of Arrawad and the latter in the deserted pergana of Amba—the former is so hot that the hand cannot be borne in it, the latter is less ardent and is used as a hot bath—they are both said to possess medicinal qualities, and are considered useful in the cure of cutaneous disorders, amongst others leprosy.

"In the present state of Candeish little can be said of its annual productions; the horned cattle are for the most part large and active, the sheep seem indifferent, but it appears to me that many tracts in Baglana and in the centre of the country are favourable for breeding horses, and from the large proportion of fine mares which now must remain useless to their owners, but to breed from, a very good description of horse for our cavalry might be produced by the introduction of Arab stallions under proper regulations. The great scarcity of cavalry horses renders this an object worthy of consideration, for the more extensive our rule over India, and the more effectual the

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suppression of the predatory system becomes, the greater will be the scarcity of an animal which is only applied to the purposes of war and state.

"Previously to examining the present condition of Candeish it appears proper to take a retrospective view of its history since it fell under the dominion of the Marathas in order to account for its depopulated and wretched state.

"It has been shown that Candeish after it fell into the hands of the Marathas was allotted to chiefs for the maintenance of their troops, while a considerable portion was still held under the immediate administration of the Poona State, and it does not appear to have suffered more from the bad government of that empire than other countries under its rule. The agriculture appears to have been flourishing and extensive under the administration of Mahjee Scindia, Ihlia Bye Holkar, and Nana Furnaveese of the Poona State, who all three were contemporaries and died within a few years of each other, and it may be said that Candeish was in a flourishing condition up to the year 1798 when Bajee Row succeeded to the Free Government of the Peshwaship after the death of Nana Furnavse.

"In the year 1800 Yeshwant Row Holkar, an illegitimate son of the late Tookajee Holkar, commenced his rebellion against Cassy Row, the eldest legitimate son of that Prince. The incapacity of the latter and the vigor and the energy of the former made the struggle for power very unequal, even with all the advantages of possession on the part of Cassy Row, and Yeshwant Row Holkar became the virtual head of that family in a few months. In the struggle for empire, however, the unfortunate countries of his brother were pillaged, and Candeish having been the original scene of Yeshwant Row's rebellion first suffered in the greatest degree from his cruelties and the licentiousness of his troops. From thence he went to Malwa and succeeded in driving his brother Cassy Row into exile. He thence returned through Candeish by Sindwa Ghaut, laying waste whole districts on his route to Poona, and did not cease till he had overturned the power of Bajee Row and placed his

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brother Umrat Row on the throne. At this period our more intimate connection with this Prince commenced and Yeshwant Row Holkar returned by the route of Burhanpoor devastating the eastern tract of Candeish in the same manner as he had done the western. The scourge of war was succeeded by an unusual drought and a famine in the following year, which extended from the Satpoora Hills down to Hyderabad, and in this calamity Candeish lost the greater part of its population. Such was its condition in 1804 and 1805.

"On the return of peace, however, the province might still have been recovered if any attention had been paid to its situation. The portions of Holkar and Scindia were exhausted by incessant demands on the revenues which could not be answered, and a succession of rapacious officers were sent down from Hindoostan to extort all they could for the exigencies of the present moment, and the country of Bajee Row was farmed out to the highest bidder, who became for the time being the sovereign of the district, and it may easily be imagined, as these contracts were usually made annually, that the holder extracted from the ryot to the uttermost of his ability to pay. In this system the subject met with no protection either of person or property. Many of those who were able fled to the neighbouring countries of Gujarat on the one hand and Berar on the other, where they probably experienced less misery. Many villages became depopulated. The lands were allowed to lay waste. The Bheels, the watchmen of the villages, could neither exist amidst ruins nor procure food from the needy cultivators of other villages, and betook themselves to highway robberies and lived in bands either in the mountains or took possession of villages in their neighbourhood. The revenue contractors were unable and unwilling to expend money in the maintenance of soldiers to protect the country, and the Bheels in a very short time became so bold as to appear in bands of hundreds and attack towns, carrying off either cattle or hostages, whom they released by receiving handsome ransoms.

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"When Bajee Row succeeded to the throne there were several nobles of rank holding estates in Candeish, but his own rapacity and the indifference with which for many years he lookt towards the maintenance of his military chiefs induced him to resume most of the lands, and the successive independent military leaders such as Wahid Ally Khan, Dadam Khan, Jewajee Yeswant, and several others who owed allegiance to no State but levied contributions and usurped the country as they had means to do so, first induced the remaining Jageerdars and subsequently the Government itself to entertain bands of Arabs for the defence of their citadels and towns. These free-booters, the Arabs, being unconnected with the inhabitants, were incapacitated from heading rebellions, but their courage made them peculiarly estimable among those chiefs who were afraid even of trusting their own relations with power. They, however, only served for large pay, they would not submit to be dismissed if arrears were due to them but took orders on the districts, by which they collected not only the amount but were supported till it was paid. Their importunities and their insolence to their employers compelled the latter to submit almost to any condition rather than see their country made over to the free-booters who continued to ravage the rest of it and at length the Arabs appear to have gained an ascendency by their courage, their enterprise and their address which made their authority in many districts supreme. Their habits were frugal, their pay large and the Zemedar usually made about 50 per cent. on the money he received from his men. At length from being mere soldiers the Arabs became money-lenders, every chief who set up in rebellion might receive 1,000 or 5,000 Rupees from an Arab chief by which he was bound to entertain a number of his men, they accompanied him in all his plundering expeditions and held him in fact a State Prisoner from the moment he took their money. Instead of monthly interest the bonds exacted from needy borrowers expressly stated that a sum to a certain amount, being generally from 5 to 10 per cent. monthly,

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should be paid to the Arab as his pay, and they seldom allowed any one to escape without extorting from him the whole debt. In the Districts of Talneir, Betawad Sindkheir, Soangheir, Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, I found in many villages two and three Arabs receiving from 8 to 10 per cent. monthly for money lent several years before, and the settlement of some of these claims has been the most vexatious but a very important part of my duties.

"Naro Shunkur Rajah Bahadur first introduced the practice of hiring Arab Soldiery. He held the strong castle of Malligaum and the town became at length the principal Depot of these mercenaries. They were accustomed to go and come there from the coast and from Arabia and whenever a band of one or two hundred of this description of Infantry were required they were to be found in that place. Here many of them settled and married and their boys became soldiers (this class is called Mowallid).

"These Arabs are chiefly from the Province of Hadramaut and the Eastern Coast of Arabia and were frequently in the habit of returning to their country.

"Some few walled cities have escaped the ravages of the Arabs and the Bheels but the destruction of the grain stacks and driving off the cattle, a practice so common amongst the latter class, is almost as distressing to the inhabitants as the plunder of their homes. The ravages committed by the Bheels and the Arabs, were not even equal perhaps to those inflicted by the Pindaries. These lawless but enterprising bands have been the scourge of this province for the last ten years. Their inroads here unlike their passage through other tracts where the fear of the troops of the State gave them no time for rest, enabled them to revel at their ease. Their usual approach was through the Ghaut near Asseer and the Mahomedan Bheels of that tract were their guides and abettors, and in their absence plundered on horseback like the Pindaries themselves. The Pindaries had at one time settled in Nimaur and the Asseer, Dholcote, Dhowla, Sindwa and Burwany Ghauts.

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Being in the possession of the predatory powers who encouraged the system, it may readily be imagined with what facility they carried on their destructive warfare. During the last two years the factions at the court of Mulhar Row Holkar and the murders of a minister and a Regent in Malwa only added to the rapacity and inequity of district officers in Candeish. In the Peshwa's part of the province too, the adherents of Trimbucjee's fortunes, Godajee Dainglia, Bheem Row Kaka and one Dajee successively laid it waste and became absorbed in the population as circumstances compelled them. In the beginning of the war they were joined by a considerable body of Arabs and foreign Infantry, who on all occasions levied money from those who were still able to pay them. Desolation is everywhere apparent in Candeish. Immense tracts are covered with jungle, in some part of which there still remain forts entire, and mosques appearing through the woods, the monuments of better times. The abject condition of the people and the arts the lower classes have practised against their oppressors have tainted their morals.

"It is with difficulty that the most simple truth is extracted from them, and the slightest cause of complaint is exaggerated with the hope of obtaining speedy redress. Falsehood and cunning have become the weapons of the weak against despotic power, but the depravity of the people is rather the result of their unhappy condition than that of innate propensity. The scenes of corruption they have witnessed and the mutual iniquities even of relatives are hardly to be believed. Wherever a younger branch of the family had money or artifice sufficient, he often made use of them to wrest the birthright from the elder through the means of Government authority, an object always attainable by a bribe. This frequently produced retaliation and family feuds have sometimes ended in murder. Forgeries and false papers have been exhibited and supported by Government in the spurious branch of a family, tortures have been inflicted to extort bonds and original deeds and the investigation of claims so involved for a series

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of years seems too complicated for any new Government to enter into. The state of the cultivators is particularly deserving of consideration. Their means are so small that they are driven to the greatest distress for wholesome food. A small quantity of milk and a coarse black unleavened cake made of jowarry or bajry is their usual morning meal, while at noon the bread is rendered palatable by a mess of chillies and dall with a mixture of salt and turmeric and a small handful of vegetables procured from the fields. They eat meat only on festivals or at weddings. The climate, fortunately for them, requires no fuel, little clothes, and but indifferent huts. The custom of marrying while children leaves the Hindoo no opportunity of reflecting how he is to bring up his children, and the moral check which exists in Europe is unknown in India. To this a very great portion of their poverty may be very naturally ascribed, and fifty rupees borrowed to celebrate a wedding is not unfrequently a debt that follows the borrower to the grave. The following, from what I can learn, is descriptive of the manner in which a ryot subsists during the year. Before the ploughing season has arrived he has, perhaps, been obliged to borrow a few rupees in advance on the next year's crop to pay this year's demand of the Government, and he is fortunate if he can realize the sum at less than 40 or 50 per cent. He now comes on the Sahoocar to advance him seed, for which he promises to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers for every seer, and frequently 2 seers, at the harvest time. During the growth of the grain and while there is much vegetation in the fields the ryot contrives to subsist on the green corn and on greens pickt out of the hedges which, added to his other food, makes a tolerable meal. The moment the grain is gathered this resource ceases and Government requires him to pay his rents. There is no immediate sale for the grain and he takes up money from the Sahoocars, pays a portion of his rent, and gives his crop, or the greater part of it, after paying all former claims, to liquidate the debt, and this grain he compounds to sell in bulk for less than it is selling in the market in

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order that he may realize a sum of money immediately. When the remains of his grain is exhausted he is obliged to purchase it for food at an advanced price, and before the time for sowing comes on again he is precisely in the same dilemma as at the beginning of the year. When such is the history of the ryot's progress throughout the year we cannot wonder at the poverty that exists, but we rather feel surprized that it is from objects of this nature the Government continues to realize its principal source of revenue. The accompanying series of documents No. 3 will show what is left to the husbandman and the little encouragement held out to follow the pursuits of agriculture. The mass of the population being so poor it is to be concluded there can be little encouragement for trade or manufacturers, and such is really the case. The Comly, the common covering of the inhabitants, is rarely seen in Candeish. Sheep are, however, plentiful, and the wool of 100 sheep shorn twice in the year does not fetch more than from 6 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. Usually the milk and the flesh are the chief sources from which the shepherd derives his advantage, as the tax for grazing is nearly equal to the price of the wool.

"The only description of people which has benefited by this state of things is the soldiery and the Sahoocars and, in many instances, the Deshmook. The Despandies and even the Coolcarnies and Potails themselves have leaned towards the Mamletdar and aided him in his exactions, but I shall defer the exposition of this part of the subject to another part of my report.

"Since the overthrow of the armies of Holkar, the Rajah of Nagpoor, and Bajee Row, many soldiers have necessarily been thrown out of employ. Those of Holkar have several of them come to Candeish and Gungturry where the homes of almost all the Bara Bhaee Horse are situated. A very large portion of the few Infantry who escaped from the Battle of Mehidpoor followed Ramdeen to the southward, and many of them are now in our pay, while the Sibundies of the late Government are for the most part in our

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employ. The condition of the ryot has been too plainly shown to expect that the cultivation of land can hold forth inducement for soldiers to apply themselves to it. As for lands cultivated by hired labourers, I have met with very few instances, unless perhaps in a few Enam lands, but the surplus produce affords so small a profit, although held free from rent and tax, that it is found better to give it over to the cultivators and receive a part, generally 30 or 35 per cent, of the net produce after deducting the expense of the stock, such as cattle and implements, than to cultivate it by labourers.

"In order to exhibit the present state of the population of Candeish, I have the honour to enclose an account which shows the number of villages inhabited, the number of houses, of inhabitants, and of cattle, and when we consider that horses are never used in Candeish as beasts of labor, seldom even as beasts of burden, and are merely kept to breed from and for riding, the number is very great. Of these I imagine at least one-third are of that class of which soldiers' horses in India are composed. I have been for several months obtaining this document, the returns from each District have been frequently sent back for revisal and correction, and I have endeavoured to procure it as perfect as possible. It is useful as pointing out the present condition of the people and will form a good standard for comparative improvement. The sheep included are only those which are pent nightly within the villages, those of the great graziers called Kellaries are omitted.

"Under this view of Candeish, and situated as it is on our frontier, it cannot be expected soon to become a source of revenue to Government. It will probably not pay for some years the expenses of the Civil and Military Establishments for its maintenance, but it certainly has within itself the sources of a productive province, although it will require time, and an increased population under a mild administration to allow it to attain its former state of fertility, and above all a vigorous police and the presence of a military force to crush anything like insurrection or

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disaffection which among so many disbanded soldiers is likely to occur.

"Among the most immediate measures for recovering the country are the repairs of the dams and advances of Tuckawee to old and new settlers to till the ground and to build houses. The former should, I think, be placed under the direction of some scientific European officer and the latter should only be distributed under particular prescriptions. In those instances where Districts have lain waste for many years, I should recommend that some mode be adopted by which the personal influence and character of the Amil or Superintendent of the District might be made subservient to his reputation, by rendering it the interest of the individual to benefit the inhabitants. I think that the ordinary motives which influence Amils to recommend themselves insufficient to bring about the object unless urged by the stronger impulse of personal advantage. On such occasions I would venture to recommend a percentage on the annual increase of the revenues, which, although it would stimulate to exertion, would neither be a permanent defalcation of the income of Government or involve the Amil in any complicated concerns with the people. Having taken a superficial view of the present state of Candeish I shall proceed to an examination of its several sources of revenue, *viz.*:—

1. The Land Rents or Taxes.
2. The Moturfa.
3. The Abkarry.
4. The Zuckat or Customs.
5. The Sevay Jumma.

"The system of revenue collection is deficient in different parts of Candeish. During the reign of Acbur all that part of the Province under his Government underwent a revenue survey. The lands were divided into separate kinds and a fixed assessment was made on each sort.

The ground was divided into :—

1 Waste or barren land, which included hills, rocks, roads, and beds of rivers.

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2 Arable or land capable of cultivation but lying fallow.

3 Cultivated land divided into the several descriptions of gravelly, black, and red, and again subdivided into wet and dry.

"I have with considerable difficulty procured copies of the original records of the measurement of the land and the rate at which the whole was assessed. This document, which I now forward (No. 5) is rather curious than useful. It is subdivided into the Rukbah or measurements of the land in its several portions and descriptions, and the Tunkah or permanent assessment in many districts. The accounts, I regret, are not procurable, notwithstanding my unremitting exertions to obtain them. Upon investigation I find the measurement is neither correct nor complete in many instances, and it is, I fear, not to be relied on as the true scale for future assessments. The land was considered the property of the Government, and the cultivators, tenants at will, excepting in some instances where land was given for charitable purposes, when it became private property. The village officers as Potail, Koolkurny, etc., were either paid in kind by a portion of the crops equal to a tenth or in money. They appear lately to have met with little consideration and the Desmook and Despandy of the District seem to have had most power and authority. The latter retained all the village records in detail and was held responsible for giving correct information to the Government revenue officers. This system of administration obtains in the present day in most of the Districts of Candeish.

"The remainder of the province and that part of Gungturry under my authority appears to have undergone a similar survey in the time of Mullic Umber, the founder of Arungabad and the successor to the Government of the last of the Nizam Shahy Princes. As far as my inquiries have enabled me to learn the assessments were pretty much the same as those of Acbur, but the nature of the landed tenure was essentially different.

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> " This prince seems thoroughly to have comprehended the use of the soil to Government by identifying the interest of the cultivator with its fertility. While Acbur considered the land the property of Government, Mullic Umber confirmed the right of cultivating certain fields to the ryots, he made a considerable proportion of the land private property, the lands of the village were considered the just property of the township, the fallow land was the common for the pasture of the cattle, and the ploughed ground was either the property of individuals or cultivated by tenants who recived a portion of the crops."

The concluding portion of this report, relating more particularly to the Bhils, has already been quoted above.

From 1818 onwards British rule was established in Khandesh, with the exception of one or two subdivisions which remained the property of Scindia. The Arabs were quickly removed, and the Pindaris gave little trouble, but the Bhils remained. It is obvious that the re-population and restoration to prosperity of a province which had suffered so terribly could not be effected in a year, or even a decade. But the Bhils had to live somehow. Most of the villages were still deserted. There was still no source from which the Bhils could obtain an honest livelihood, as Police or watchmen. They remained in the hills in bands, and the first years of British rule were marked by a series of expeditions, great and small, more or less unsuccessful, against these robbers. Many were the proposals for subjugating them and reducing them to order, but none succeeded. Mountstuart Elphinstone apparently foresaw the true solution of the problem, and it was on lines marked out by him that the settlement of the Bhils ultimately proceeded. He recommended a double set of measures. There were to be Bhil agents, one in the south on the Satmalas, and one in the west on the Tapti, who were to endeavour to bring the Bhils to follow agricultural pursuits by grants of land and loans of bullocks. Also an irregular corps was to be formed for local duty, to take the place of many small outposts of Regulars, and to act as armed Police.

The first measure was a success from the beginning. It began to be organised under Colonel Robertson, first Collector, whose instructions to his first Bhil Agents, Capt. Ovans in the south and

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Capt. Rigby in the west, are still extant and form most interesting reading.

The formation of a local corps was at once a crying need and a seeming impossibility. Captain Briggs was opposed to the idea of enlisting the Bhils themselves. He writes:—"On our first occupation of Candeish it occurred to you, I believe, that an irregular corps of Bhils would answer the purpose of civilizing, and of providing for them, on the plan of Mr. Cleaveland with the hill people of Bauglepoor, and before we became so thoroughly acquainted with the constitution of the Bhil Society such an arrangement appeared the best adapted to remove the evil, but a more close and intimate knowledge of their habits has induced me to think that any military organisation of the Bhils would be at best difficult, that it would be elevating them from thieves to soldiers, for which they are in my mind wholly incapacitated from their licentious habits and grovelling ideas, that it would be impossible to prevent crimes of the most heinous nature among them, and that they would on such occasions immediately fly to their fastnesses, their brethren would not seize them, and the system would entirely fail of its object." It will be seen that Captain Briggs despaired of ever inducing so savage a people to submit to discipline or to range themselves seriously on the side of law and order. Meanwhile officers commanding troops were complaining bitterly of the loss of their men through sickness. The country was overgrown with jungle. Malaria and cholera appear to have been almost perpetual. Medical appliances were few, and quarters bad. In fact it seemed as though no troops who were not inured to the climate of the province could live in it for long. Want of local knowledge and the difficulty of the country rendered the expeditions against the Bhils irksome and unsuccessful. An attempt was made to raise an auxiliary force, and one actually existed for a few years. Little can be discovered of its numbers, constitution, or usefulness, for all that remains of its history is a few pay bills and requisitions for supplies. It seems to have been of small service, and it was disbanded after a brief and useless existence.

Such then was the condition of the province at the beginning of 1825. The Pax Britannica was being introduced with much labour and at the cost of many lives. The possibility of prosperity was becoming evident, but everything depended on the reduction of

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the Bhils to order. How to reduce them to order was the problem of the day. Regular expeditions were costly, by no means always successful, and productive of sickness and discontent. The auxiliary force was useless, and Police hardly existed. Mr. Chaplin, however, who had succeeded Mountstuart Elphinstone as Commissioner, was not dismayed. He insisted on the attempt being made to create a corps of the Bhils themselves, the idea no doubt having originated from Elphinstone himself. Colonel Robertson, though himself doubting the success of the measure, at least loyally supported it, and for that purpose proceeded to Malegaon Cantonment to endeavour to find an officer who should be brave enough, strong enough, able enough, and tactful enough, to undertake the command. The letter from Government to the Commander-in Chief asking for the services of officers is appended.

No. 474 of 1825.

To the Commander-in-Chief.

"The immediate organisation of a Bheel Corps in Candeish having been determined on *and the employment of another officer on the Adjunta Hills on the same principle as Captain Rigby at Kokurmoonda,* and the Collector of that province having been entrusted with the entire management of the plan, the Governor in Council requests that Your Excellency will have the goodness to issue the necessary instructions to the officer commanding in Candeish for placing at that officer's *immediate* disposal such officers as Colonel Robertson may select for the duties to be entrusted to them, provided they are within the limits of his command."

Bombay Castle, 12th April 1825.

The words in italics are in Mountstuart Elphinstone's hand, and show his knowledge of details and personal interest in the scheme.

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CHAPTER IV.

LIEUTENANT JAMES OUTRAM
AND THE
FOUNDING OF THE BHIL CORPS.

HAD the officials who controlled the Bombay Presidency in 1825 lived till 1860, it might well have been a source of comfort to their declining years to think that they had been the means of giving Outram his first chance of putting forth his powers. Times were rough for soldiers in Khandesh. There were no railways nor even made roads. Distances were great, the jungle was infested with wild beasts and teeming with malaria. In Malegaon there was some semblance of a cantonment, and Dhulia was gradually being formed into a civil station. But few officers, military or civil, could remain for long in their stations. A constant state of guerilla war on the frontiers, an endless chain of outposts to be visited and relieved, and a perpetual succession of sick and dead to be replaced, left little leisure to the staff. Perilous times and hard living have ever shewn up the best qualities of the British officer, and it is likely that Colonel Robertson when he went to Malegaon met many a man who feared neither the tiger in his lair nor the Bhil in his fastness. What then made him select the young acting Adjutant of the 23rd Bombay Native Regiment of Foot to raise and command the new Bhil Company? The reasons are not recorded in so many words, but the choice, like though it is to Samuel's preference of David to his brethren, seems not to have been a matter of simple inspiration, but to have had for its foundation a series of deeds already done, and powers already manifested.

Of the closing years of the 18th century and the opening years of the 19th it may well be said that there were giants in those days. Great commanders by sea or land, statesmen of renown, men famous in letters, brilliant artists, divine musicians, all can be recalled to

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memory by the most superficial student of the history of the period. Though Outram was, so far as is recorded, no artist or musician by temperament, there is a remarkable resemblance in him to one of the kings of art. Just as Outram's career was commencing, the life of Ludvig von Beethoven was drawing to a glorious, if unhappy, ending. No two men, it will at once be said, were ever less alike in character or surroundings. But by their works ye shall judge them. Did Beethoven write a symphony, a sonata, or a simple ballad, in all was the touch of the master. Fully conversant though he was with the elaborate, intricate, and strict rules of composition of the day, yet in each of his works is to be found originality, freedom of treatment, and the sense of the master of craft, who though he respects convention, yet is free to soar above it. So it is that a lover of music, hearing one of the master's works for the first time will exclaim, 'That is by Beethoven' or 'None but Beethoven could have written it.' Even to this day his daring is unequalled and his splendour undimmed. To turn to Outram. Many men have raised regiments, but there is something unique in Outram's solitary plunge into a sea of savages, from which he emerged with a flourishing and well regulated battalion. Others might have escaped from Ghazni to the coast. Could any one else have made of his escape a combination of admirable reconnaissance and of a tale from the Thousand Nights and a Night? Many have sympathized with princes in distress, but Outram's sympathy with the Mirs of Sind unites the romantic tenderness of a friend with the skilfully reasoned advocacy of a King's Counsel. Thousands of men, aye distinguished men, have served in the ranks of volunteers. But Indian volunteers may well be proud of the General who gave up his command, well won by thirty-nine years' hard service, that his junior might not lose the glory, who volunteered as a light horseman, and as a plain volunteer was thrice mentioned in despatches for personal valour. Bayard with his chivalry or Saladin with his bravery, cannot rival Outram on the march to Lucknow. A hundred instances will occur to readers of his biography when they will say 'That was one of Outram's master strokes', or 'None but Outram could have done it.'

But to return to the matter in hand. Colonel Roberson when he visited Malegaon must have straightway heard of a brilliant affair

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which had just been reported. Mulher is a small town about forty miles west of Malegaon. Its main street runs north and south, gently sloping from the River Mosam on the north, to some distance from the foot of the stupendous fort of Auranggadh on the south. The fort is crowned by a scarped cliff, almost flat on the top, which is of many acres in extent. It is 4,300 feet above the sea, and about 2,000 feet above the town. Some half-way up is a cluster of houses and gardens, with a good rock water-supply, and surrounded by fortifications. It is known as the machi, and was doubtless a place of retreat when the town was attacked, as well as a pleasant residence in summer. From the machi a narrow footpath winds up the face of the hill to the bottom of the scarp. Here a massive gate protects the only legitimate access to the top, which is a winding rock-cut staircase, climbing some 250 feet and emerging on the plateau. It is such a place as Captain Briggs said could be defended by five men with stones against a battalion. The remainder of the scarp is said, and in truth appears, to be totally impossible to climb. The lower fort, or machi, was reported in March 1825 to be occupied by a body of 500 Bhils, with some Arabs, under one Shivram, and a relative of Trimbakji Denglya. The native officials sent in terrifying letters recounting the damage done by this band. It certainly plundered the neighbouring market towns of Antapur and Taharabad, and had attacked the detachment in Mulher town.

To destroy this band of rebels the Collector requisitioned 25 horse from Kukarumunda on the Tapti, and asked Major Deschamps, commanding at Malegaon, to despatch as many men as he could spare. A force of 200 men was accordingly sent, under Lieutenant Outram. The subsequent operations are thus described by Outram himself.

No, 2nd.

To

CAPTAIN NEWTON
MAJOR OF BRIGADE, MALLIGAUM.

SIR,

Immediately after despatching my report of yesterday*

* Letter No. I. lost. It merely announced the arrival of my detachment at Zyekeira, 12 miles from Moolair, having marched during the night 35 miles.

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announcing the arrival of my detachment* at Zyekeira 12 miles from Moolair, having marched during the night 35 miles, Mr. Graham of the Civil Service who accompained us received intelligence from Moolair that the party of the Candeish Local Corps and Auxiliary Horse had been attacked from the Fort and had had a sepoy and a horseman wounded.

I have the honor to report that in consequence it was determined, with the concurrence of Mr. Graham, to attempt the Fort of Moolair by surprize at night**

I accordingly made the following dispositions. Lieutenant Paul and Ensign Whitmore with 150 men marched to the front of the lower Fort, where there are three gates, with orders to invest the place as much as possible, assisted by the detachments of Horse and Foot already there at the town of Moolair and with directions to make a false attack on that side, but of course to be turned into a real one should opportunity offer. In the meantime I marched to the opposite side with 50 men, hoping in the confusion caused by the front attack to effect an entrance by the rear gate, where I was given to understand there was a practicable breach.

After a circuit of 18 miles this was effected without opposition about midnight, Lieutenant Paul having entered unresisted, and my party from the rear, the Bheels, panic struck, fled before we ascended to the gates—to the number it is supposed of 500—the report of the foreign mercenaries is unfounded.

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* Consisting of 200 rank and file with usual proportion of Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers.

** I have no copy of my instructions, they merely required me to protect the town of Moolair (situated two miles from the Hill Fort) until the assembly of a force which was under orders to move to suppress the rebellion, consisting of a Brigade of Infantry from Surat (distant 120 miles) a Battering Train and Infantry escort from Jaulnah, (180 miles) and all the disposeable troops under Major Rigby from Kokurmoonda (50 miles) which latter did not arrive till three days afterwards—and the former, in consequence of my successful measures, were countermanded.

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I instantly descended to the town of Moolair and assembled a few horsemen for the pursuit; at daybreak I came up with a small party of the enemy who made a stand in a thick jungle on the side of a steep ravine which the horses could not ascend; in the skirmish however a Naick, their leader, was shot.

One horseman and a sepoy were wounded and 7 Bheels killed in the skirmish which had occurred before our arrival, and one Naick and a Bheel by us. The Bheels are reported to have descended the Wagoonda Ghauts in considerable numbers, with a great number of bullocks, plundered from the surrounding villages. I purpose going after them this evening with a light Detachment of 30 men.

I have the honour, etc. etc.

(Signed.) J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.,

Commanding Field Detachment.

Moolair, 7th April 1828.

To

CAPTAIN NEWTON

MAJOR OF BRIGADE. MALLIGAUM,

SIR,

I have the honour to report that since my letter of yesterday, (in which I reported the dispersion of the Bheels and my intention of proceeding in pursuit of them last night) they have sent us as a pledge of submission, the person, who had constituted himself Rajah, named Sew Ram, promising to throw themselves upon the mercy of Mr. Graham in the course of the day. Hostilities are accordingly suspended until evening, when I shall proceed against them if they do not fulfil their promises.

I have the honour, etc., etc.

(Signed.) J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.,

Commanding Field Detachment.

Moolair, 8th April 1825.

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To

CAPTAIN NEWTON,

MAJOR OF BRIGADE, CANDEISH.

SIR,

The overtures of the Bhils having apparently been made only to gain time, Mr. Graham directed me to proceed into the Mewas country where they were reported to have assembled in great numbers.

I have the honour to report that I accordingly marched with a light Detachment of 30 sepoys and 20 Horse at night-fall, upon intelligence of 200 Bhils with their families and plunder under Rama and Rye Singh Naicks. About an hour before daybreak their fires were pointed out to me, on the side of a steep and jungly range of hills.

I made such dispositions to prevent escape as I was able, placing some men at the extreme of several of the ravines which led to their haunt; but I found it impossible to effect my purpose, the ravines and passes being innumerable, and after detaching 18 men I proceeded with the remaining 12 (the horsemen were left 4 miles off, the country being inaccessible to them) to climb the hill and should have succeeded in surprising them most completely had not a dog given the alarm when within a few yards of them.

The uncertain light of the moon favoured their escape though followed by us very closely and fired upon frequently.

In the chase I am sorry to say a boy was killed and a woman slightly wounded.

We succeeded in securing the brother-in-law of Rama Naik and a woman.

They were unable to carry off any of their plunder or cattle and left behind them 16 bows with arrows, 5 swords, a matchlock and negarrah. We also secured 80 head of cattle.

At daybreak I found them assembled in great numbers on many almost inaccessible points of the surrounding hills and agreeably to previous authority from Mr. Graham I

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called to them (by means of the prisoners) that if they would give themselves up, their lives would be spared, but was only answered by abuse.

I consequently dispersed my party in different directions to climb the hills and endeavour to come upon them but they would not stand—as we ascended one side they descended the other but we had several opportunities of firing upon them, and report says many were wounded. I think it very probably the case.

I have the honour, etc., etc.,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.,
Commanding Field Detachment.

Moolair, 8th April 1825.

Such were the operations of which Colonel Robertson must have had first hand reports at Malegaon. A note by Outram himself on the description of the Mulher Insurrection, 1825, by Mr. Giberne, subsequently Collector of Khandesh, runs as follows:—

Note on Molair Insurrection.

It was this Insurrection which caused Mr. Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, to insist upon this attempt to raise a Bhil Corps; all other measures having failed to bring the Bhil tribes into any state of submission. The Political Agents, Colonels Briggs and Robertson had heretofore opposed the attempt (which had been more than once proposed by Mr. Elphinstone) under the idea that we should thus be placing arms and power in the hands of inveterate foes, who would sooner or later turn them against ourselves.

It is not a very far-fetched deduction to assume that the foundation of the Bhil Corps being decided on, Colonel Robertson selected on the Commandant also in consequence of the operations at Mulher.

Accordingly, Bombay General Orders of April 22nd 1825 notified that the services of Lieutenant Outram, Adjutant, 23rd Regiment Native Infantry were placed at the disposal of the Collector and Political Agent in Khandesh for the purpose of commanding a Bhil Corps to be raised in that province for Police duties.

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Outram had at this time reached the ripe age of 22 years. Yet he had already done six years' soldiering, and had been for three years Adjutant of his regiment, then known as the 1st Battalion of the 12th Native Infantry, afterwards as the 23rd Native Infantry and now as the 123rd Outram's Rifles. During his Adjutancy he superintended the marching of the regiment from Poona to Baroda, and from Kathiawar to Malegaon. The experience he gained during these long marches through difficult country must have instilled into him that extraordinary power of realizing the needs of troops on the march which ever afterwards distinguished him. Not once nor twice in after years did Outram's foresight prove the salvation of an army. With his appointment to raise the Bhil Corps ended his strictly regimental duty, never to be resumed again till Cawnpore. Well may the 123rd be proud of having trained him, and well may Indian volunteers glory in having numbered him in their ranks.

Besides his military duties, he had secured 74 first spears out of 123 obtained by a party of twelve at pigsticking. He had also speared four nilgai, two hyænas, one leopard, and two wolves. He had picked up two lion cubs, put them in his pockets, raced their mother home on his horse, and won. He had been blown up in Bombay harbour on a native craft. In short he had had more soldiering and shikar at 22 than many an officer can now expect in his whole career.

Outram did not at once join his new appointment. He had a severe attack of fever, hardly to be wondered at when he had marched over 50 miles in two successive nights to Mulher, and had fought a battle at the end of the second march. He remained in Malegaon till the beginning of May, when he proceeded to Chalisgaon. He is best left to tell how the Bhil Corps was founded in his own words. Two comments may be made on them. Firstly, in May the thermometer at Chalisgaon daily rises to 115° in the shade, a temperature not conducive to the frequent and rapid climbing of precipitous hills over 2,000 feet above the plains. Secondly, Outram ushered in his new corps with the total defeat, in one night and with 30 men, of a rebel force, which a considerable British army for several months had failed even to touch. Nor was he content with merely rushing over the mountains after the Bhils. He found time to survey as he

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went, and furnished Government with a detailed plan of the Satmala Mountains in that neighbourhood, pointing out and defining the Bhil strongholds, and thereby greatly facilitating all future operations in that quarter.

A metalled road which was constructed up the mountain side between Chalisgaon and Kannad, and was opened by Mr. Ashburner in 1872, has been well named 'Outram's Ghat.'

"I kept no copies of my correspondence," writes Outram, "during the period from my appointment to raise the Bheel Corps, in the middle of April 1825, until the date of my first official report (1st July 1825). A severe illness detained me in Malligaum until the beginning of May. When I proceeded to Chalisgaum where the Head Quarters of a Field Force was situated, which for two months had been endeavouring to keep in check the Bheels of the Adjuntah (or Sathmalla) Range, who under the noted Pandoo and other then celebrated leaders, had been ravaging the plains below these mountains for a long time with impunity, and laughed at all the futile efforts of the regular troops to disturb them in their fastnesses, seeing that no communication could be obtained with the rebel Bheels from thence, I then ascended to Kannur, a small Nizam's station above the Ghauts, where I was equally unsuccessful. Finding, therefore, that nothing could be effected towards laying the foundation of the corps, until the spirit of the tribes in rebellion was subdued, who had the arrogance to suppose that our troops dreaded to penetrate to their haunts, and carried their depredations to the pickets of the British Camp, the very flocks belonging to which they had recently carried off, I accordingly revisited Chalisgaum in the hope of inducing active operations, but, failing in that object, I made my way to a native officer's post, stationed at Jategaon, about 30 miles distant, and above the Ghauts. The object of this post was merely to protect the village which had been threatened by the Bheels, but the Detachment, being from my own Regiment, and knowing me heretofore as their Adjutant, the native officer ignorant, that, being now on staff employ, I no longer had any authority in the Regiment, at once obeyed my orders,

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to have all his disposeable men in readiness for a dour after nightfall when I marched in the guidance of a spy I had taken with me, on the strong position in the heart of the mountains, which I had been informed was then occupied by the united tribes, who had just assembled in great numbers for the purpose of undertaking some enterprise. My detachment consisted of only 30 bayonets, but I calculated on effectually surprising the rebels from so unexpected a quarter, and on coming upon them before daybreak, when unable to observe the weakness of their assailants. I had little doubt they would disperse in confusion. The result was as I had expected. On the first alarm that the red coats were upon them which was given by the scouts, while we were yet too far off to attack effectually, the whole body fled, panic struck, scattering in every direction and leaving their women, children, and wretched property at our mercy. I then separated my small party into threes and fours, with orders to pursue while any Bheels were to be seen and then to rendezvous at the Bheel hattee (encampment), searching the ravines on their return. Seeing the red coats in so many different quarters, the effect of which was increased by hearing their musketry in such opposite directions, confirmed the idea of the enemy that the whole British force was upon them and prevented any attempt to rally. Their dispersion was complete, two of the Bheels were killed in the pursuit, many others were supposed to be wounded, and almost all their families remained in my power. Having the evening before sent information to Major Deschamps of my intended attempt, he was induced to co-operate, and the troops from below soon after joined me. The Bheels were so hotly pursued for some days that they could not re-assemble, and their haunts being then occupied by our troops their power was so completely broken, that I was then enabled to commence operations, and laid the foundation of the corps through the medium of my captives, some of whom were released to bring in the relatives of the rest on the pledge that they all should be set at liberty.

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I thus effected an intercourse with some of the leading Naicks; went alone with them into their jungles; gained their hearts by copious libations of brandy, and their confidence by living unguarded among them, and hunting with them, until, at last, I persuaded 5 of the most adventurous to risk their fortunes with me, which small beginning I considered ensured ultimate success.

The young commandant's position, on leaving the regular army and finding himself in possession of his first five Bhils, may be compared to that of the ring-master of a circus, who is suddenly deprived of the-well trained performers to which he is accustomed, presented with a collection of half shy, half savage, animals straight from the forest, and ordered to teach them tricks and exhibit their performances to the public. It will be as well to explain here what performances were desired by the owner of the circus. How the children of the jungle were taught, and how their performances surpassed the owner's wildest hopes, will be told hereafter.

On May 6th, 1825, Colonel Robertson wrote to Lieutenant Outram as follows —

To

LIEUT. OUTRAM,

COMMANDING BHEEL CORPS

SIR,

1 As the ground work of the few instructions I deem it at the present moment necessary to give you in reference to the Bheel Corps which it is intended to raise I beg accompanying to transmit copy extract of a letter which I addressed to the Commissioner under date 11th March last respecting this subject; from which you will generally perceive the object for which the corps is to be embodied, the pay that it is proposed to give to the men, and the extent to which it is intended to subject them to military drill. You will also observe that it is intended to obtain a few steady commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates from the Line to aid you in the execution of this object, and, generally, at least in the first instance, to fill the situation

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of the native officers and most also of those of the non-commissioned officers, till experience may show that we may safely make such promotions, to some extent, amongst the Bhils themselves.

2 I conclude from your private communication that you have now so far recovered from the effects of the "exposure" at Mooleir as to have proceeded to join Mr. Graham at Challeesgaum. From this gentleman you may calculate on receiving every assistance, in explaining to the Bheels the object of embodying the corps and inducing them to enlist.

3 The Bheels in the Challeesgaum Tallooka as well as those in the Bhurgaum and Erandole Tallookas are those who give us the most trouble as police subjects, and who probably are the most straitened in their circumstances. From these districts therefore I should wish that you could embody most of the men. Hereafter a few of the Kotheel Bheels from the Jamner and Nusseerabad Tallookas may be added, as well as a few from Baglan, both to extend the benefit of the corps as far as possible and to the utmost degree to prevent any ill-effects from the whole of the recruits belonging to one part of the country and possessing the same prejudices and partialities. The effects will be greatly obviated by extending the recruiting, in the way proposed, and by the employment of native officers and non-commissioned officers from the Line.

4 I will thank you to inform me of the number of native officers and non-commissioned officers and sepoys whom you consider it in the first instance necessary to have the aid of, when I will take the requisite measures to obtain their services.

5 In the first instance it will be prudent probably not to give the recruits money. Instead of this I would suggest that they should be chiefly paid by an allowance of grain, making to them only at certain periods small disbursements of cash. The grain you should yourself procure. By and bye money may no doubt be given, and as all will prefer to have money, you might discontinue the issue of grain to every person that you may have reason to think will not abuse the indulgence.

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6 For the purpose of making a purchase of provisions and for meeting the other expenses of the duty assigned to you, you will require an advance. This I shall be prepared to issue on your requisition, passing it to your personal debit in the first instance and clearing it hereafter by the credit of your monthly abstracts. In these you should merely charge the pay of each man and not the purchase or issue of grain, which may be considered as merely a temporary arrangement.

7 I should wish you to state whether you think a sergeant on the same principle as a sergeant to the local corps or whether an English writer merely for the information of your papers would be of most use. You will require a Carcoon and I beg you will entertain one at the same pay as is authorized by Government for the Local Corps, *viz.*, Rs. 20 per mensem.

8 In the first instance such duty will not be expected from the Bheels, but you should keep them as much employed as possible in such a manner as will teach them the important duty of obedience to orders. This you can only effect by degrees, but it should constantly be kept in mind and enforced as circumstances permit, and till you have attained it. Nothing will better ensure this, than when you employ them, always doing so under non-commissioned officers from the Line, who should be taught above all things to inculcate into the minds of the Bheels the principle of strictly adhering to orders, as the very essence of their duty.

9 This is the main point to which in the first instance your attention should be devoted, as striking, as it will, at the root of all their loose and irregular habits and substituting in their stead punctuality and subordination. It will be the most difficult matter to accomplish. Some attention to their personal appearance too and any other minutiæ of that nature which is calculated to excite more favourable impressions in respect to themselves and a change of habits, will be of great moment. Punishments of a personal nature should be avoided. For minor offences you will soon discover punishments suitable to their own ideas and for

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those of a serious nature the offenders should invariably be dismissed before, if it should be necessary, they are handed over to the Magistrate. This will excite a pride in those that remain in the corps.

10 Some of the lower grades of non-commissioned officers should be left open as a stimulus for exertion and attention and as a reward for those who may excel, for though it is not thought prudent to employ their own Naiqs, or even to engage anyone in any other than the lowest grade, yet it would be wrong not to promote from the corps, at least to the more inferior stations, as soon as it is judged it can be done with safety. To such vacancies you should point the attention of the men generally.

11 The number to be enlisted will depend on the future decision of Government. In the meantime I think you may without risk of exceeding the wishes of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council enlist as far as 400 men. You can favour me with a special report every two months as to your progress in recruiting and in reclaiming those who may have enlisted, also occasionally of the opinion your experience may give you reason to entertain of the likelihood of advantage being derived from the measure. It will, I apprehend, greatly depend on the information Government may receive on these points, how far they may consider it necessary to proceed with the Corps.

12 I will also thank you to let me know what you should conceive should be the organization of the corps as to officers and non-commissioned officers and when arms may, you think, be entrusted to them, which will not, I apprehend, be for sometime, till in fact they evidently shew a relish for their new mode of life.

13 Your Head Quarters you will observe are intended to be at Dhurungaum or Errundole, but it will not probably be material if you do not for a short time decide on which place you may ultimately prefer, as the duties of recruiting will oblige you to be somewhat on the move. Eventually as fixing the Bheels to a certain spot and thereby teaching them to have a home, it will be advantageous to have a fixed cantonment.

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14 In these instructions I may have omitted many material points, but if so you will point them out and I shall be happy to supply the defect. They are to be considered more as an outline of what is required than as a perfect guide. In no other undertaking does more depend on the personal character and conduct of the officer. A conciliatory disposition towards the Bheels convincing them you feel an interest in them and a pride in seeing them do well, are of all others the points that are most likely to earn their regard and to excite in them those better feelings which it is the chief wish of Government by the raising of the Corps to generate, and in your zeal and discretion the government has every guarantee that this, its humane object, will be most sedulously attended to.

Such were the instructions received by Outram. In acknowledging them he makes no comment for the present, but specifies his demand for Regulars. This is his reply :—

Sir

Agreeably to the desire expressed in your letter containing the instructions for my guidance in raising the Bheel Corps, to the command of which you have been pleased to nominate me, I have the honour to state what I conceive will be the strength of the Draft from the Line required for its foundation.

A Detail of 2 Subedars, 2 Jemedars, 5 Havildars, 5 Naiques, 2 Buglers and 30 Privates would be a sufficient check upon the Bheels when the Corps has attained its full strength, I am of opinion, and will be necessary to instruct them for duties with which it might be imprudent to entrust the Bheels until I have have had sufficiently long acquaintance with them, to be enabled to place confidence in them.

As the success of the measures must depend so much upon the zeal and conciliatory demeanour of these men, I should wish to keep several vacancies in the higher ranks open at first, which would be a spur to their exertions. For this reason I beg to propose a Draft from the Line of 2 Jemedars, 2 Buglers, and 42 Rank and File, from among whom I would promote commissioned and non-commissioned officers

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to the number above mentioned, when in the course of a few months I had become perfectly acquainted with them.

I beg leave to object to a European Sergeant and to propose a Native writer of English instead, as the former would be without society and as is usually the case with persons of that class might seek solace in intoxication. I have provided myself with a Carcoon according to your permission.

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CHAPTER V.

FIRST SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

THE young commandant was armed, at least for that part of the province in which he was to reside, with civil as well as military powers. There were already two Bhil agents appointed, one for the southern or Satmala range, and the other for the Sahyadris and western jungle. These officers had multifarious duties, which may be summed up in the expressive native term "ma-bap." The Bhils were to them as children. They must defend the Bhils, stand up for their rights, educate them, teach them to engage in worthy pursuits, provide them with money for a start in life. At the same time they must see that their children did not waste their money in quarrelling and vice, repress crime, and generally practise the doctrine of not sparing the rod where its use was necessary.

Colonel Robertson had already issued instructions to the other Bhil agents. He forwarded copies of those instructions to Lieut. Outram on the 28th September 1825. The forwarding letter is so interesting as to warrant its being quoted at length :—

SIR,

I beg, enclosed, to transmit for your information an extract from a letter I did myself the honour to address to the Commissioner, under date 30th July last, and also copy of his reply dated the 6th instant, with a copy of a letter I have this day addressed to Captains Rigby and Ovans on the subject thereof.

2 As you will for some time be mainly occupied in the formation of your corps it will only be in your power to act occasionally as a Bheel Agent, but when you do act, you will keep these instructions in view.

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3 The division in which you will have more peculiarly to act will consist of the Districts of Errundole, Nusseerabad, Chopra, Yawal, and Sawda and Rawere. This range of districts I shall make over to the charge of Mr. Graham for the ensuing year, and as before stated, you can only yet occasionally do the duties of a Bheel Agent. Mr. Graham will in the interim be directed as much as possible with reference to the instructions now enclosed, to extend his superintendence to that class of people and you will therefore, in all you do, act in concert with and in conformity to the suggestions of that gentleman, whilst this arrangement may exist. In the meantime, till Mr. Graham takes charge of these districts, I will send you such special instructions from time to time as may be requisite for your guidance.

4 I shall place the Central Districts under Mr. Erskine and he will also have his attention particularly directed to the instructions regarding Bheels, which he will be specially charged most carefully to act upon and to carry into effect in that tract. The Central Districts consist of the Dhulia, Ammulnair and Talnere Mamletdaries.

5 Mr. Dent will similarly be instructed to give his attention to the Bheels of the Districts of Nehr (exclusive of Bhamere) and the Talooka of Mallegaum, north of the Girna and of the Lohneir Tallookas, which will be too distant for the superintendence of Captain Rigby.

6 All the Bheel affairs to the southward of your position eastward to Jamnere and inclusive of that district, will be under Captain Ovans.

7 I have mentioned these arrangements to you that as Commandant of the Bheel Corps you may be aware that no parties should be detached by you to these districts, but at the request of the officers in charge of them or on my orders, except in cases of emergency, when you think that injury would be sustained by the public interests, by waiting for any request of this description, as for instance when you may have undoubted information of the retreat of any person charged with a robbery, or of a gathering of

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banditti, or, I need hardly add, when you may be in pursuit of thieves, and in all these cases you will as soon as possible make known the circumstance to the officer who may be in charge of the districts you may so act in. This limitation, which will be equally acted upon by the assistants and other Bheel Agents, is necessary to preclude the risk of their counteracting each other's operations.

8 You will maintain the establishment authorized by Government for your agency and I shall apply to the Commissioner for his authority to your framing your military abstracts on the same principle as those of the other Bheel Agents. Your abstract for Civil Pay you will have the goodness to send to me.

The Satmalla hills contained the very worst of the rebellious Bhils, and it was from amongst these that the five first recruits were obtained. Outram now marched across the province in a north-easterly direction to Dharangaon, where he established his head-quarters. Precisely why he chose Dharangaon is not explained. True, the town is central, and has a good market. But it is in a bleak and dry country, and has no living water supply. Such water as is available is stored in ancient tanks, but these are apt to become stagnant, or fail altogether, in the hot weather. Erandol, only 7 miles distant, was offered as an alternative. Here is an equally large town, a running stream, and many good wells. However, Outram, doubtless for some good reason, preferred Dharangaon, and Dharangaon became the headquarters of the Khandesh Bhil Corps, and remained so till the end. Letters show that Outram arrived there before the end of June 1825. How he got there, and how he managed to retain the faithful five on the march, is not recorded. It seems a pity that he left no diary of those days. The march must have been, to say the least of it, full of incident. But arrive he did, and with him were not five, but twenty-five recruits. The twenty had been picked up on the march from among the tamer Bhils of the plain villages. On arrival he sent his first regular report to the Collector—the first of a long and interesting series. Little excuse is needed for reproducing here this report. It ignores absolutely the heat, and dangers, difficulties, and the extreme discomfort that must have been experienced. In fact it reads

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almost as if the writer was in the habit of forming regiments out of savage tribes once a month :—

SIR,

I now do myself the honour, agreeably to the desire expressed in your instructions of the 6th May, to make a special report of my proceedings during the two months I have been employed in recruiting for the Bheel Corps of Candeish, and of what hope I now entertain of the ultimate success of this measure.

You are aware that severe illness delayed my departure from Mallegaum until the 8th May, when according to your directions I proceeded to Chaleesgaum to endeavour to raise recruits amongst the Bheels in that quarter.

I then received every assistance from Mr. Graham, who laid things in train for me, by ordering the Mamlatdars and other native agents to explain to the Patells of villages and such Bheels as were available to their communication, (the greater portion being in the hills plundering) the advantages and nature of the service now open to the Bheel tribe, and recommending all of that class to take advantage of the opportunity of engaging with me.

Whilst this might take effect I went to Kunner, above the Ghauts, privately to solicit the assistance of Captain Kelly of the Nizam's service, who, I was given to understand, has great influence with the Candeish Bheels in his vicinity. He most kindly exerted himself to induce some of them to embrace the service, but without success, and at last having given his decided opinion that their prejudices and fears were not to be overcome, I returned to Challeesgaum on the 26th May, where I found none had been induced to offer, but aware of the advantages which would most probably result from our obtaining a footing amongst the Bheels of that neighbourhood, the most turbulent in Candeish, I continued in that Talooka, visiting and residing at different Bheel villages until the 15th June. The obstacles I here met with I at one time almost despaired of surmounting, especially their fears! Three or four whom I first enlisted were frightened away by an absurd

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report that I was enticing them to transportation! They especially at first looked upon the measure with a very suspicious eye, the treachery and cruelty of former rulers being still fresh in their memory, but I came away with, though only five recruits, the satisfactory feeling that their fears were entirely removed as evinced by their entrusting their few relations to my charge, and their prejudices greatly overcome, so that I have no doubt I shall obtain many recruits from that quarter when the nature of the service is better understood.

As I had anticipated, having overcome the great difficulty, engaging the first few and those from amongst the most disorderly and suspicious race, little persuasion was necessary to induce some of the Burgaum and Errundole Bheels to join me as I passed through those Purgannahs, which together with Challeesgaum, I was particularly directed to make the seat of my first endeavours.

The number of recruits I this day muster is 25, which knowing the difficulties and obstacles that prevented my enlisting a single man during the whole of May and beginning of June, I hope you will consider as successful as possibly could be expected, and an auspicious commencement, and as none who have once taken service (with the exception of the first three or four alluded to above, who deserted the same day they enlisted) have since left it, though brought a considerable distance from their country and kindred, I think they are determined to stand the trial, which must convince them of the advantages of their new state, compared to their dangerous and unsettled mode of life hitherto, in which, at the best of times, they can procure but a precarious subsistence and one frequently exposed to want, so that they will not readily be induced to give up the former to return to the latter. Time must prove whether or not they can become sincerely attached to peaceable habits, but I have every hope they will be found to be of a more malleable disposition than is generally supposed.

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I cannot say I think this is a task easily or speedily to be accomplished; much perseverance, patience, and trouble I foresee will be required in the first place to conciliate and bring them under proper subjection, and a steady, though, mild rule, must be preserved when that is accomplished, but I trust I am most zealously disposed to bestow every attention, and spare no endeavour to meet the wishes of Government in forwarding this measure, so creditable to myself should I succeed.

I have every expectation my next report will be most satisfactory as to numbers; I consider one of the greatest difficulties overcome establishing a foundation.

I am now at Dhurrangaum which, being one of the places left to my choice, I am disposed to make my headquarter. As far as I can learn and to all appearance it is the healthiest spot in the neighbourhood, and I have accordingly commenced hutting my recruits for the monsoon.

For those who do not know Khandesh it is necessary to explain here that the climate of the province is extremely dry from November to June. Often not a drop of rain falls for seven months. At the latter end of June however, the south-west monsoon bursts with great regularity and usually with violence. From June to October there is incessant rain, totalling between 25 and 30 inches. The country roads are impassable for carts, and every man clings to his home, for the very good reason that it is difficult to travel. But Outram and his Bhils had no home. What they did for shelter at Dharangaon in 1825 is not known, but they can hardly have been luxurious. Subsequently, Outram built for himself a roomy bungalow, which has but lately been pulled down. Other bungalows and offices arose near it, and regimental lines sprang up for the corps. But the first rains must have been most uncomfortable. However, the corps progressed in spite of discomfort and hardship. Outram himself lived in a disused kacheri or court house. He managed to provide hutting for some of his men, and quartered the rest in the town. Punctually on September 1st, he sent in his second report, which

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OUTRAM'S BUNGALOW, DHARANGAON.

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is eloquent not only of material and moral progress, but of the determination, vigour and tactfulness of the writer. This is it:—

To

LIEUT.-COL. ROBERTSON,

COLLECTOR IN CANDEISH,

DHOOLIA.

SIR,

1 I have the honour to report the progress I have made in organizing the Bheel Corps since my last of the 1st July 1825, the number of Bheels who had then embraced the service was 25, on the 1st August they amounted to 62, and the number now is 92.

2 You will be sorry to observe they have not increased in number during the last month, in the rates that might have been expected from the former; several are the causes of this, partly from the Moharum festival having intervened, during which I kept all my men together and endeavoured to make them spend a happy holiday, partly because I find it prudent at present not to appear to press the rapid assembly of a large number while yet unarmed, but chiefly, I am sorry to say, because the suspicion of our motives gains ground daily. Alarming reports are doubtless kept alive by those who are interested in frustrating this measure, in the success of which they foresee the death-blow to plundering with impunity; which reports are strengthened from the circumstance of those I have assembled being kept without arms, and the alarm heightened from an unfortunate coincidence, the town of Durrungaum and the very kutchery in which I am residing having been the scene of the massacre of a number who were assembled on a very similar plea about 11 years ago. The butcheries of that period are fresh in their memory, and a repetition is dreaded by all but those who are now with me. To remove their fears, I have spared no endeavour by constant intercourse with them; talking of the cruelty above alluded to with marks of detestation and without reserve; explaining the advantages we expect from their services (for they could not under-

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stand and would suspect any other motive for the liberality of Government); listening to their complaints and enquiring into and obtaining redress for oppression to which the families of some were subjected when unable to complain, they themselves being amenable to justice for a breach of its laws; interceding for those who though proscribed have sought my intercession, taking every opportunity of displaying a perfect confidence in them and demanding services from them, etc., etc. By these means I have succeeded in inspiring almost all who are in the corps with a feeling of security and confidence in me, of which I have had ample proof. Had this not fortunately been the case, the undertaking must have been ruined on the 26th instant, when by some means or other a report was spread amongst my men, that in the great concourse of people assembled in the town on that day (being the last of the festival) were concealed the agents by whom they were to be slaughtered in the evening! This was well calculated to strike terror in the minds of men most of whom had parents or relations cut off by such treachery in the Paiswah's reign, but the report was only credited by about 15 of the most timorous and newest of my recruits, who fled on the first alarm; the moment I heard of the rumour (which was brought to me by some of the Bheels themselves) I ordered them to assemble and was promptly obeyed. I explained to them how much disappointed I had reason to be in them, who, notwithstanding the confidence I placed in them, sleeping under their swords every night (having only a Bheel guard at my residence) still continued to harbour suspicions of me! The feeling with which they answered me was so gratifying that I do not regret the cause which brought it forth. They immediately went after the fugitives and returned with eight in the evening, the others whose fears had carried them out of reach, are still absent, but I have not struck them off the strength of the corps, their friends having gone to recall them, and I have not a doubt they will be happy to return when they find their fears were groundless.

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Others have given early proof of their fidelity. In the beginning of August I despatched two parties to recruit, the one of a havildar and 20 Bheels to the Challeesgaum, the other of a naique and 10 to the Loonair Purgannah; most of them were inhabitants of the countries to which they were sent, and on their arrival at their homes they found that report had been busy with their fate during their absence! So terrified were their relations from what they had heard of our intentions that they endeavoured by every means to persuade our men to desert. But notwithstanding their solicitations every man returned, though they could only prevail on nine men to accompany them.

"4 If I am unnecessarily prolix in the relation of these particulars, it is caused by my anxiety to prove the necessity of the early attention of Government to the subject of my communication of the 2nd ultimo. Agreeably to your permission I purchased 20 swords which I have distributed among my men, but they are not calculated to give the appearance of security which I am anxious to display. I have shown that those now with me are free from fear, but if kept without arms I could not answer for their long remaining so. Arming them will be the quickest and surest means of removing the suspicions of the Bheel population generally, which are almost the only obstacle to the success of a measure which must prove of the greatest utility. It will subdue, I am confident, the rapacious spirit of that class, to which the country has so long been a prey, and which no laws or measures hitherto, whether of coercion or kindness, have been able to subject.

"It is with much satisfaction I report the following particulars of the great success which has already attended the steps I have taken to bring those Bheels in the corps into habits of regularity and subjection.

"Having previously obtained your assent, I promoted, in the beginning of July, 3 Bheels to naiques, and on 1st August one of the naiques to havildar. My motives for making such early promotion were to excite a spirit of emulation,

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by showing what they have to look up to as the reward of good behaviour and to teach obedience to non-commissioned officers of my creation, in opposition to what they had hitherto been only accustomed to pay their hereditary naiques. My wishes have been completely answered—the non-commissioned officers are made aware of their responsibility and the privates look up to them as they ought.

"The great bar to order at first, was their frequent indulgence in intoxication. This I have put out of their power by the mode of payment which provides them daily with scarcely more than sufficient to obtain the necessaries of life, excepting on the last day of the month when the surplus of their pay is given; which I am happy to find they begin to spend in articles of finery in preference to spirituous liquors, and I have not known of a single instance of excess in this respect during the last month.

"The payments of the Bheel Corps are regulated as follows:—Two annas are paid every morning, thus controlling their expenditure which would otherwise outstrip their means, unacquainted as the generality are at present with the use of money, the remainder amounting to 10 annas in a short, and 12 annas in a long month, is paid on the last day of the month, when I receive the acknowledgment.

"The clothing I have given them consists of a puggrie, dyed green, a white angracka reaching to the knee, and goorgie reaching below the knee, made double and of strong cloth, which I find best adapted to their inclinations, and gives them a very respectable appearance; which I am glad to find they are sensible of. They are daily improving in cleanliness and beginning to expend the surplus they receive at the end of the month in purchasing shoes or ornaments! This dress will last about six months, and is well calculated for a Police, being perfectly uniform, and looking very well with native arms; it is at the same time the cheapest that could be given, the whole expense being under 3½ rupees.

"I was unable to proceed in hutting more than about 30 men, grass not being procurable so late in the season; the rest

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I have quartered in empty houses in the town, without infringing on any prejudices of the inhabitants, who were at first much averse to their neighbourhood, and had frequent reason of complaint against the Bheels, being then rather disorderly; but those complaints have entirely ceased and their behaviour now is the satisfaction of everyone.

"I have at present divided the corps into two classes, the one consisting of men for general Police duties, the other of those whom I hope to train and discipline as Light Infantry. The latter are selected from the youngest and most intelligent; of this class there are at present about 20. The duties I exact are light, from the former a daily and nightly guard of a naique (or lance) and six privates, from the latter—whom I wish to attach as much as possible to my person—two orderlies are supplied daily. In pursuance of what I deemed prudent, demanding early service from them, I detached several parties to recruit. The ill success of two, who were sent to the greatest distances I have already shown, but the fidelity they evinced on that occasion was more gratifying than the most complete success. I have reason to be equally well pleased with the various parties which I detached in the neighbourhood, all of which, though meeting with little success, deserved the trust I placed in them and exerted themselves to the utmost. For the same reasons and to terrify the other Bheels into taking timely refuge in the corps, I also employed my men on one or two occasions to apprehend offenders. You have already been informed that a detachment from the Bheel Corps was anticipated in the seizure of the notorious Heeria naique by one day, and they apprehended thirteen thieves who had committed a late robbery, but upon not finding the articles on them, these were released though there was no doubt that they were the perpetrators, the information against them being given by an accomplice, whose evidence I did not think prudent to bring forward. The alacrity they evince in the performance of these services convinces me they will soon have no scruple to bring their nearest relations to justice if required to do so. That these

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exertions have terrified the Bheels who continue to oppose the laws is fully proved by two of the most notorious naiques Sailia and Biwajee, who have for years eluded all attempts to apprehend them, having voluntarily tendered their submission to me, although they are proscribed. Taking advantage of the opportunity of their being in my hands, would have been very detrimental to establish the character of the friend of the Bheels on which the success of my undertaking much depends. I therefore promised my intercession with you in their behalf, on which subject I had the honour privately to address you on the 22nd ultimo.

"I may also mention in proof of this position, the circumstance of the country for 15 miles round Durrangaum which had been hitherto most particularly a prey to the rapacity of the Bheels, having been perfectly free from their depredations. Since the establishment of the Bheel Corps at this place not a single robbery has taken place, though formerly of daily occurrence, and travellers who then never ventured out without the protection of horsemen or sebundies, now proceed unarmed alone!

"Should the Bheels in the corps prove faithful and efficient servants, which the little experience I have now had in them leads me confidently to hope I shall render them, the rest of that class will be compelled to have recourse to peaceable occupations for a livelihood, when it is not unreasonable to hope this hitherto degraded race finding protection under our mild rule where no distinction is drawn between Bheel and Brahmin, may become gradually habituated and attached to the change. Such is what I foresee will be the reward of this humane measure, and though I am aware it will at present be treated as a vague speculation, I do not hesitate thus early to express my confidence in the result.

"In consideration of the irregular class of people I have to deal with, I humbly intreat that the few propositions I may make in the first stages of this undertaking may be treated with more indulgence than as coming from so young and inexperienced a man, they may otherwise be intitled to.

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"I may possibly in some instances be unable to abide by former custom or rule, in my attempts to reform those in the corps, wherein I must be guided chiefly by circumstances as they occur. Placing early trust in them, for instance, will be naturally regarded as imprudent and throwing temptation in their way, yet I am persuaded that this is the only way to make them trustworthy. Delay in their sanction is what I dread, and to show the necessity of avoiding it is my reason for making these remarks, and humbly requesting that you will consider the expediency of sanctioning or objecting to my proposals without further reference, whilst this undertaking is yet in its infancy.

"13. I beg you will bring to notice the delay which has taken place in drafting the detachment from the Line which was authorized by Government upwards of a month ago, but of which I have since heard nothing. Thus delaying it until my recruits are numerous and showing them too plainly that they are sent as a check upon the corps might have produced the worst consequences had I not guarded against it by leading the Bheels to expect them from the beginning.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM,
Durrungaum, 1*st Sept.* 1825. *Lieut. Commanding Bheel Corps.*

The infant battalion was already nearly 100 strong. The Commandant was the personal friend and adviser of every one of his men. The corps itself, and the surrounding public, reposed their confidence in him. His men had already done good service in catching thieves and dacoits. Merchants who had gone armed and in fear of their lives, began to travel unmolested and unarmed. The foundations of an enduring peace were more surely laid in three months by one unaided youth, than in seven years by many experienced leaders, in hundreds of expeditions at the cost of thousands of lives. How was it done? Not by an unbending discipline or by incessant punishments. "Copious libations of brandy," tiger hunts, and a

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long holiday at the Mohurrum, could not be expected from a severe martinet. How then was it done? By the example of one fearless gentleman, who bore the heat with the hardiest, faced the tiger with the boldest, sympathized with the most miserable and depraved, and held out the hand of love to those who had known no love. Writing on the subject of "The Tomb of his Ancestors" Mr. Kipling says: "The main character was certainly modelled on Outram. The inscription of course (on the tomb itself) is the one to Cleveland of Bhagalpur who died 50 years before Outram." The likeness of Outram to Cleveland is certainly striking. What a solitary officer had done among the Pahadyas of Bhagalpur and the Santhal Parganas in 1780, Outram was doing among the Khandesh Bhils in 1825. Fortunately for the British Empire, Outram did not succumb to his early labours, but lived on to win more glory in wider fields. Had he died at Dharangaon in 1835, the memorial tablet to Cleveland might well, with name and date altered, have been set up over his grave. The inscription on that tablet, as quoted in the Gazetteer of Bhagalpur, reads as follows:—

To the Memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq.,

LATE COLLECTOR OF THE DISTRICTS OF BHAUGULPORE AND RAJAMAHALL,
WHO, WITHOUT BLOODSHED OR THE TERROR OF AUTHORITY,
EMPLOYING ONLY THE MEANS OF CONCILIATION, CONFIDENCE, AND BENEVOLENCE, ATTEMPTED AND ACCOMPLISHED
THE ENTIRE SUBJECTION OF THE LAWLESS AND SAVAGE INHABITANTS OF THE JUNGLETERRY OF RAJAMAHALL,
WHO HAD LONG INFESTED THE NEIGHBOURING LANDS BY THEIR PREDATORY INCURSIONS,
INSPIRED THEM WITH A TASTE FOR THE ARTS OF CIVILISED LIFE,
AND ATTACHED THEM TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY A CONQUEST OVER THEIR MINDS—
THE MOST PERMANENT, AS THE MOST RATIONAL, MODE OF DOMINION,
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL OF BENGAL,
IN HONOUR OF HIS CHARACTER, AND FOR AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS,
HAVE ORDERED THIS MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED.
HE DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE 13TH OF JANUARY 1784, AGED 29.

The Bhils had come to be regarded, not as mere criminals, but as creatures without human feeling, as dangerous wild beasts or noxious vermin, from whom no good could be hoped. It was the desire, and was considered the duty of all good citizens to hunt them, trap them, and destroy them at sight. Even the farseeing Captain Briggs despaired of reclaiming them, and it was left for Outram to shew that they were not only human beings, but useful members of society.

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Not long ago died a saintly man, of whom it may be said that he was a living expression of the fundamental doctrine of Christianity. Those who knew him, and loved him, as he loved all, saw in him almost a reincarnation of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, a second John the Divine. It may seem far fetched to compare Edward King with James Outram. Yet here is a letter written by Bishop King.

"LINCOLN, *December* 4, 1893.

You have seen, I daresay, that we are in trouble here again. A poor dear Grimsby fisherman; it will all be over a fortnight to-morrow. Will you please remember him, H——R——, and ask that he may be forgiven and accepted, and for me that my sins may not hinder my helping him. We have every hope for him, he is really most beautiful. I am just back from the gaol, so my hand shakes, but not for him; it is a great privilege if we are only equal to it. But you will remember poor Richard, and understand that I cannot help asking God to hear his prayer for me now, if it be His Will. I think it is, it seems so easy.

With my love and blessing,

Always yours affectionately,"

P.S.—Perhaps you could ask a few of the men to pray.

The letter might seen ordinary enough, were not the subject matter of it a condemned murderer, for whom the judge had the black cap, the newspapers execration, and the world no mercy, but of whom the Lord Bishop can write 'he is really most beautiful.'

Often might the Lord Bishop, bowed with age yet strengthened by love, be seen tramping the steep streets of Lincoln to comfort those for whom the world had no comfort, the occupants of the condemned cells.

It was the same sympathy with the despairing, the same ability to reclaim the lost, to find the good in those in whom the world found all bad, which enabled the Bishop to make Christians of condemned felons, and Outram to make soldiers and citizens of Bhils. It was the recognition of these qualities, not less than mere personal piety or valour, that caused the good folk of Lincoln to be willing to lie down that the Bishop might walk over them, and that caused Napier to compare Outram to Bayard, or the volunteers at Lucknow to nominate Outram with one voice for the Victoria Cross.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE LEVY BECOMES A BATTALION.

"WHAT I don't understand about Outram," writes Mr. Kipling, "is the way in which he seems to have got Brahmans and Rajputs to help him lick his Bhils into shape as a Regiment." No doubt the Brahmans and Rajputs had learned sufficient of Outram's character in Kathiavad and Gujarath, on the long march to Malegaon, at the storming of Mulher, and over the mountains of Chalisgaon, to know that the young officer was one whom they might trust implicitly and follow blindly. If he brought them to live among despised savages, he had at least been living among the savages for months before them himself. If he demanded drudgery from high caste gentlemen, he had himself shown the example of how a gentleman can toil. Unerringly the sonar with touchstone and acid determines the purity of gold, and just as unerringly do natives of India determine the characters of their leaders.

During the rains of 1825 Outram occupied himself with overcoming the rooted antipathy of the Bhils to drill, with recruiting more men, weeding out at the same time any who were indisposed or unfit for permanent service, with arming and clothing his men, and generally with organizing the corps.

As to drill, he selected the youngest and most promising recruits, and began to teach them regular drill. The older men he kept for the present as irregular police, or sibandis. In his November report he mentions about 60 of the former and 40 of the latter.

Recruits came in fairly frequently, but on the other hand a few men deserted, and others were discarded. The strength of the corps only rose to 109 on 1st November.

The first arms that were supplied were native swords. To these were added after a time matchlocks, but Outram for months endeavoured to obtain a regular supply of army muskets. Officials at

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headquarters delayed sending these till January 1826, and much discontent was caused thereby.

In November 1825 there marched into Dharangaon a party of Regulars, officers and men who had been personally selected by Outram to volunteer for duty with the Bhil Corps, and assist in drilling it, and to supply its native officers. The party was mostly from the 23rd. Most of those selected from other regiments had either shrunk, or been deterred, from actually joining. Outram, however, professed himself content with those who came. They numbered 44 in all. Their arrival almost ended the career of the new corps. The worst suspicions of the Bhils seemed realized. It had often been impressed on them by mischief-makers that the sole object of Government in banding them together at Dharangaon was to massacre them *en masse*. Behold, here was a strong and well-armed detachment of the detested high-caste soldiers of the line marching on them. Flight or instant death seemed their only alternatives. In a moment, however, the young commandant turned their sorrow into joy, their despair into confidence. He ordered the detachment of regulars to give up their arms, and to mix with the Bhils as brothers. He assured the Bhils that arms for them had been demanded from Government. When these arrived, all should be armed alike, but till then the soldiers should go unarmed. Thus consoled the Bhils renewed their efforts to become proficient at drill, so as to worthily bear the promised arms.

The progress of the corps caused Outram to suggest that it be provided with a regular uniform, which he thus describes: "A dark blue cloth shell jacket and dungaree pantaloons of the same colour and should facing be allowed, I should prefer green." This uniform was duly sanctioned, the green facings consisting of cuffs and collar were allowed, and a blue 'foraging cap' was added, also buttons with the letters K.B.C. Outram himself asked permission to discard his regimental uniform, and adopt that of the Bhil Corps.

A native apothecary, tents, doolies, and other camp kit were indented for and obtained.

At the end of 1825 commandant and men were so confident each of the other, that the permission of the Collector was asked and obtained for a formal march through the Province. This march had many objects. It would encourage recruiting, it was meant both to

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promote and show off the efficiency of the corps, it might be the occasion of capturing any marauding bands who were about, and of testing the worth of the recruits when engaged with their late comrades in crime. Accidentally, it filled the Bhils with martial pride, owing to their formal recognition by the 23rd Regiment and the garrison of Malegaon as brother-soldiers. Considering Outram's human sympathies, and his ability to work on men's feelings, it is more than probable that this 'accident' was the most carefully planned of all his actions since he entered on his command. Its success is best described in his own words.

To

J. W. GRAHAM, Esq.,
Asstt. Collector, Candeish.

Sir,

1 I have much satisfaction in reporting the progress of my endeavours during the last two months to bring the Bheels into a state of discipline and subjection to order; which have been most successful and must prove more satisfactory to Government than greater success in recruiting; and altho' in the latter respect I have not been proportionately successful it is not to be attributed to any increasing backwardness on the part of the Bheels, or, I trust, to any want of energy on my part, but solely to inability to exert myself as I wished until, by the arrival of the camp equipage of the Bheel Corps on the 9th December, I was enabled to leave a part of the country from which I had drawn a very fair proportion of the Bheel population (which in that neighbourhood is not numerous) and as many as I thought it advisable to endeavour to obtain from it at present.

2 The success which has attended the recruiting since my departure from Durrungaum on 10th December convinces me I shall have little difficulty in assembling as large a body of Bheels during my tour as Government may require, and my success in other and more important respects, above alluded to, leaves me no doubt I shall fulfil all I have so frequently expressed myself sanguine of accomplishing.

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3 The last special report I had the honour to make, dated 1st November, showed a total of 109 Bheels in the corps; up to the 10th December (when I marched from Durrungaum) the number had only increased to 115, from whom I had to strike off 7 desertions; and the total of Bheels now in the corps is 134, I having enlisted 26 and rejected several since my march.

4 In my last report I mentioned I had brought a portion of the Bheels to consent to drill. I commenced instructing them in the beginning of November, and in a very short time they had overcome all dislike and submitted to drill with as much steadiness and paid as much attention as recruits of the Line. All but 50 men, whom I have for the present set aside as sibundies for reasons stated in my last report, have been steadily kept at drill ever since and have made such progress as to cause much gratification to Colonel Robertson when he inspected the corps on the 24th December. I should also have ere now brought them to the use of the musket had I yet received my arms from Ahmednugger; the Bheels have not only overcome their antipathy to European arms and accoutrements (which together with drill were the obstacles most difficult to surmount) but are now most anxious to get them.

5 On the 8th November the detachment of Regulars arrived; notwithstanding the pains I had taken to prepare the Bheels to receive them without distrust I did not succeed so completely as I wished. However, I effected that end completely by immediately sending away all the arms of the Regulars which they had brought with them, giving the Bheels to understand that they and the detachment should be armed at the same time. In the course of a very few days, what I had hoped, from my knowledge of the character and respectability of the men composing the detachment, was fully effected; the Regulars obtained by their conciliatory conduct to the Bheels their entire confidence, and these high-caste men associating with them without scruple had the highest effect; they begin to rise in self-esteem and to feel proud of the service which places them on an equality

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with the highest classes. This feeling was most opportunely heightened by the generous and liberal-minded behaviour of the 23rd Regiment (on the occasion of my having sent the Bheels in a body to Mallegaum Cantonments a few days ago with a view to remove any remaining fear on the part of the Bheels by showing them they can now mix among their former foes without molestation); not only were the Bheels received by the men of that Regiment without insulting scoffs (which might almost have been expected from such high-caste men and very probably might have been bestowed by many less superior in that respect) but were even received by them with the greatest kindness. They were invited to sit down beside them and fed by them and talked to by high and low as if on a perfect equality from being brother-soldiers; this accidental circumstance will produce more beneficial effects than the most studied measures of conciliation; and Bheel reformation will owe much to it. The Bheels returned quite delighted and flattered by their reception and entreated me to allow them no rest from drill until they become equal in some degree to their brother-soldiers. Thus, happily, has another obstacle been removed—dread of or unfavourable feelings towards the Regulars—and a desire to emulate them and a feeling of regard towards them substituted in the minds of the Bheels who are in the corps, and similar feelings will be instilled by these into the minds of all who hereafter join them.

6 In my letter requesting to be allowed to march I advanced as one reason for the measure the probability that many might have engaged in the service merely from motives of present convenience who would desert when required to march to a distance; but I was delighted to find my fears almost entirely groundless; only the 7 men mentioned in the 3rd para. who deserted in the end of November (probably on account of the march) and 6 others are absent, the latter without leave but not yet struck off, having hopes they will follow me, being detained by their friends, probably against their inclinations. The march of the corps was also looked upon with some slight degree of suspicion which might naturally have been heightened by my bringing them away without arms

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(European) but the Bheels have proved themselves satisfied of our good intentions and have now accompanied me upwards of 100 miles perfectly willingly and highly pleased with the march, tents, etc.

7 Every peculiar and most obstinate obstacle to the accomplishment of the organization of the Bheel Corps, I consider removed, and that little difficulty remains to be encountered more than what usually attends the organization of a new levy of well disposed recruits.

8 Since the 10th December I have passed through the Bergaum, Chaleesgaum and Nandgaum purgunnahs but made no stay in them, having previously obtained nearly a fair proportion of Bheels from that quarter. The Bheel Corps is now camped within a few miles of Mallegaum, where I am awaiting the arrival of the arms ; I then propose proceeding through the Loonair and Cunasee pergunnahs to Hutghur and then into Bauglan, during the next two months.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.
Commading Bheel Corps.

CAMP KOWLANAH
1*st January* 1826.

P. S.
4*th January* 1826.

Before despatching the above I am most happy to be enabled to add that the arms having arrived yesterday I have distributed them to the Bheels and accoutred them ; and that the Bheels are much delighted with and proud of the European arms, etc. which they were so extremely prejudiced against so short a period since !

It appears to have been at this time that some of the Bhil Corps were placed at Malegaon and attached to regiments for being trained as buglers. In addition to the authorized calls, the

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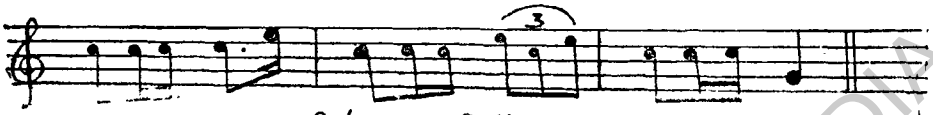
Bhil Corps buglers were taught to play a Regimental Call, which has survived to this day, and is known as Outram's call. It is reproduced, being probably an unique specimen of his work as musical composer.



Outram's Call

Another letter, written from Sakri on 1st March 1826, further sets forth the progress of the corps.

SIR,

1 I do myself the honour to submit my 4th special report upon the 'Bheel Corps.'

2 My last dated 1st January exhibited a total of Bheels in the Corps of 134, 80 of whom were attending drill; the number now in the corps is 249, 200 being at drill—attending very cheerfully and making as much progress as I could wish. I do not exact much at present for fear of deterring others from enlisting, but all those with me are very willing to submit to as much and perform whatever drill I choose to demand.

3 The portion to whom I have given Fusils are learning the musquet exercise, and are now very proud of the arms to which they bore such an antipathy at first.

4 Although a strong prejudice existed in the minds of the Bheels whom I brought from the north-eastward against the part of the country where I now am, they have attended me without a murmur, accompanied by their wives and families; and there have been only five desertions during the months of January and February, 3 of which were men just enlisted who had not remained long enough in the corps to experience the advantage of their new situation.

The general conduct of all is entirely to my satisfaction and such as to convince me I shall proceed most successfully and in the course of a few months bring the Bheel Corps into a higher state of discipline than what was demanded or could have been hoped for.

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During the last two months I have been recruiting in the Districts of Loonair, Moolair and Bhamere, and I am now about to proceed to the neighbourhood of Kukurmoonda, where I hope to meet with as much success.

CAMP SANKEY
1*st March* 1826

At Nandurbar the Corps was reviewed by Mr. Bax, acting Collector, on 19th March. Shortly afterwards, Outram reports that he was compelled by what he calls "an accident" to return to Dharamgaon *via* Dhulia, where he got medical treatment. The 'accident' is not officially described by Outram, but there is an anecdote related by Capt Stanley Scott, subsequently an officer of the Corps, which apparently refers to it. The story, from its first few words, is generally referred to the year 1825. But it was admittedly written down from the lips of old native officers, and exact accuracy cannot be expected from them. April 1826 was after all part of Outram's first year in Khandesh from the Bhils' point of view. Moreover, his movements during April and May 1825 are well known, and he had no 'accidents' then. It appears that Capt. Scott's anecdote here reproduced refers to no other occasion than the present.

The year Lieutenant Outram arrived in Candeish (1825) the following story is related of him. It happened at Nandoorbar in the month of April or May that news having been brought in by his shikarry "Cheema," that a royal tiger (panther ?) had been seen on the side of the hill under the Mussulman temple amongst some prickly pear shrubs, Lieutenant Outram and another sportsman proceeded to the spot. Outram went on foot and his companion on horseback searching through the bushes. When close on the animal Outram's friend fired and missed, on which the tiger sprang forward roaring and seized Outram and they rolled down the side of the hill together. Being released from the claws of the furious beast for a moment, Outram with great presence of mind drew a pistol he had with him and shot the tiger dead. The Bheels on seeing that he had been injured, were one and all loud in their grief and expressions of regret, when Outram quieted them with the remark "what do I care for the clawing of a cat!" This speech is rife amongst the Bheels unto this day.

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Outram himself referred to this 'accident' in some later notes in the following words :—

> Often in critical moments when hunting on foot, has a tiger been turned from me by my faithful Bheels and on one occasion, when a Panther had got me down, they killed him with their swords, when rolling with me on the ground with my head in his mouth.

The 'accident' did not prevent Outram from proceeding quickly to Dharangaon and providing quarters for the Corps, now 280 strong, for the Rains. Meanwhile the corps marched without him. Unfortunately very inadequate arrangements had been made for their pay on the march, and the Subedar in charge had to borrow from local money lenders to feed his men. Doubtless hunger was responsible for the fearful outrage described in Outram's official letter of 23rd May. It was a crime which might cause a stir in little Pedlington if not successfully attributed to the cat. No little credit attaches to the Bhils for their long and crimeless homeward march, during which these ware apparently the only complaints made against them. This is the letter :—

> Sir,
>
> In answer to your letter dated 20th instant forwarding Urzees of complaint from the Mamletdars of Nundurbar and Talnair against Subedar Moun Lall of the Bheel Corps, I have the honour to state. :—
>
> In consequence of the camp followers and commissariat establishment having received no pay from Malligaum for two months the Subedar was obliged to advance upwards of 300 rupees for their subsistence, viz 12 Lascars, 12 Dooly Bearers, and 24 Bamboo Coolies at 5 rupees each and the remainder to the Bringarrie supplying the public carriage.
>
> This causing a deficiency in the money advanced for the daily pay of the Bheels the Subedar was obliged to borrow money on his personal security from the Shroffs, whose complaints are forwarded. He promised to repay the principal on receiving pay at Durrungaum and paid the interest in advance at the rate of 4% per mensem.
>
> The pay of the Corps having arrived at Durrungaum on the 6th instant the Subedar despatched the money he had

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borrowed immediately, under the charge of a Naique of Regulars, and the money must have been received very shortly after the parties forwarded their premature complaints.

I have also to state in answer to the complaint of Kistna that that person followed the corps on march and complained to the Subedar of the loss of the parrot, whereupon the Subedar immediately took the complainant to search every tent and make every enquiry in the corps, but without being able to find any traces of the parrot or identify the thief.

On 26th May the strength of the corps was as under.

	Regulars.	
Lieutenant Commanding	... ...	1
Subedars	... ...	2
Jamedars	... ...	2
Havildars	... ...	5
Naiks	... ...	5
Privates	...	17
		32

	Disciplined Bhils.	*Sibandis.*
Havildars	8 ..	2
Naiks	9 ...	3
Bhistis	3 ...	1
Privates	228 ...	45
	248	51

In all 333, officers and men. The following non-combatants were also employed.

1 Native Doctor
1 English writer
1 Karkun
2 Armourers
1 Bellows boy
1 Mochi
5 Pay and drill orderlies

By 1st July over 300 Bhils are reported, of whom over 250 were being regularly drilled. The vast moral improvement

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which had taken place among them is emphasized in the report below:—

SIR,

I do myself the honor to report the progress of the Bheel Corps during the months of May and June 1826.

In my last (dated 1st May) I stated my intention to discontinue recruiting for the present; accordingly I have during the last two months only enlisted a few who had come from a distance to seek service: The total number of Bheels now in the service is 308, of whom 258 attend Drill.

During May and part of June the corps was chiefly employed in assisting in the erection of the barracks, but I have now recommenced Drill on a more extended scale than I thought it prudent to begin whilst recruiting, as it might have deterred others from enlisting. The Bheels attend Drill steadily and with cheerfulness.

The conduct of the whole continues most satisfactory and to improve every day, in proof of which I may mention there has not been a single complaint by villagers against the Bheels during the whole of last month, and I believe there were none during the month of May, whereas there have been several against the camp followers of other classes. Their internal management is also becoming much easier.

The abstinence of the Bheels from spirituous liquors which they never touch but on particular holidays (on which occasions those wishing to partake first obtain the Subedar's permission and merely indulge to the quantity he authorizes, which he does not allow to excess) is the greatest proof of the success with which my endeavours to reform the Bheels have been attended, and the very quiet and obedient behaviour of such a large assembly of them at so early a stage of the measure ought to satisfy Government that the whole undertaking will be most satisfactorily completed and that I shall fulfil my promise to bring the corps into a state of great efficiency. The corps will most amply repay the liberality with which it has been supported by Government, which has been an

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additional spur to my zeal throughout and has convinced the Bheels of our sincerity in wishing to promote their permanent welfare.

The corps has already been of some service, and if there had been more opportunities of acting in the neighbourhood I doubt not they would have effected everything demanded of them as they did in the following instances:—

In the beginning of May some Bheels having plundered a traveller near a village in which one of my Bheels happened to be on leave, he immediately went after the thieves and succeeded in seizing one of them with part of the plunder on him. A naique who had long plundered in the Amalnair district was caught by my Bheels and has been sent to Dooliah; also two naiques who were accused of murder and whom Captain Ovans desired me to endeavour to apprehend were caught and sent to that officer in the course of 5 or 6 days. Several other petty offenders were also apprehended by the corps, and although there have generally during the last two months been one or more prisoners in its charge and solely under a Bheel guard and without the security of a guard room or fetters, and although the prisoners had relations in the corps yet in no instance have they allowed one to escape. I believe there is no offender at large within many miles of my Head-quarters and no robbery now ever heard of within 30 miles, and I trust in the course of a short time the beneficial influence of the corps will extend over the whole province.

Owing to the great scarcity of wood I have only yet been able to complete barracks for 3 companies, but these together with a few temporary huts are sufficient at present. The erection of permanent barracks has had the good effect I anticipated—the Bheels now look upon this as their permanent place of dwelling, all who can afford it have purchased grinding stones and other domestic utensils, they have assembled all their women, children, and helpless relations, and are now exceedingly comfortable in every respect and fully sensible of the advantages of their present situation.

Durrungaum, 1*st July* 1826.

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On 11th July Mr. Bax, the Collector, wrote to Government recommending the appointment of an European Adjutant. He rightly observed that Lt. Outram was absolutely single-handed, that if he were disabled, the condition of the newly formed corps would become most precarious. The appointment was at once sanctioned, and the local authorities were asked to select a suitable officer.

On the 12th December, the corps was inspected by Mr. Bax, who professed himself very well satisfied. How proficient it had become in drill is evinced by the Review Report here reproduced.

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INSPECTION REPORT
OF
THE BHEEL CORPS OF CANDEISH.

Evening of the 11*th December* 1826.

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Inspection Report of the Bheel Corps of Candeish, Evening of December 11, 1826.

	Detachment of Regulars.						Bheel Levy.								Grand Total.	
	Commissioned Officers.		Non-commissioned Officers.				Disciplined.				Sebundies.					
	Subidars.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Buglers.	Privates.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Regulars.	Bheels.
Present under Arms ...	2	2	4	3	1	10	10	12	198	220	4	2	39	45	22	265
Sick, Present on Parade	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	15	17	...	...	...	...	...	17
On duty	...	...	...	1	...	4	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
At and attending Drill on Parade.	...	...	1	1	...	2	..	...	32	32	...	...	.	...	4	32
Absent with and without leave	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	7
On Command	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1
Doing duty with 23rd Regt. for instruction.	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	6	...
	2	2	5	5	1	17	12	12	252	276	4	2	40	46	38	32?

Performance.

Manual and Platoon Exercise agreeably to the new system. Line breaks into 12 divisions, which are taken out and exercised independently by the Bheel Non-commissioned Officers unassisted by the Regulars, performing Drill—Manual and Platoon Exercises.

(Signed). J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.
Comg. Bh. Corps.

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BALL PRACTICE REPORT
OF
THE BHEEL CORPS OF CANDESH.

Evening of 12*th December* 1826.

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Ball Practice Report of the Bheel Corps of Candeish, Evening of 12th December, 1826.

Bheel Havildars and Rank and File.		The Corps divided into 6 Divisions as follows.					
		1st Division.	2nd Division.	3rd Division.	4th Division.	5th Division.	6th Division
		36	35	36	35	36	36
Fired 3 Rounds—							
Numbers of hits.	1st Round at 50 paces.	8	7	5	3	6	12
	2nd do. 100	5	8	7	6	3	4
	3rd do. 120	1	2	3	5	7	3
		14	17	15	14	16	19
	Possible.	108	105	108	105	108	108
	Misses.	94	88	93	91	92	89

The corps has only fired 9 cartridges on an average per man since it was raised, owing to the small supply of ball cartridges at Head-quarters—the powder very bad.

(Signed). J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.

Comg. Bheel. Corps.

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REVIEW REPORT

OF THE

BHEEL CORPS OF CANDEISH

Morning of 12*th December* 1826.

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Review Report of the Bheel Corps of Candeish.
Morning of 12th December 1826.

	Detachment of Regulars.						Bheel Levy.				Grand Total.	
	Commissioned Officers.		Non Commissioned Officers.				Disciplined.					
	Subidars.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Buglers.	Privates.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Regulars.	Bheels.
Present under arms—	2	2	4	3	1	10	10	12	198	220	22	220
Sick...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	15	17	...	17
On duty	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	5	...
At and attending Drill...	...	...	1	1	...	2	...	...	32	32	4	32
Absent with and without Leave.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	7
On Command	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1
Doing duty with 23rd Regt. for instruction.	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Total ...	2	2	5	5	7	17	12	12	252	276	58	276

Performance.

1. General Salute, march round in order of review. 'quick and slow time.'

2. Column advancing forms line to rear on rear division, 'redouble time.' Fire by platoons from the right.

3. Form line by echelon on right centre division, 'wheel to the right,' redouble time.

4. Advance by grand divisions from the right, 'quick time.'

5. Form grand division squares—squares fire, standing and kneeling ranks alternately.

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6. Reform grand divisions, form wings by advance of the right and retreat of the left centre division.

7. Right wing extends to the left, 'redouble time.' Left wing forms three divisions of reserve.

8. Right wing skirmishes to the front, advancing by alternate ranks.

9. Line of skirmishers breaks into column of subdivisions, right in front, advances skirmishing to flank.

10. Column skirmishes to the front; front division relieved by the rear advancing through the intervals.

11. Column forms extended line to the right-about on front division.

12. Line retires skirmishing by alternate ranks.

13. Right wing relieved by reserve divisions extending and advancing through the intervals. Right wing forms three reserve divisions.

14. Left wing advances skirmishing.

15. Skirmishers break into open column, right in front, column advances skirmishing to flank.

16. Column forms extended line to rear on rear division; line skirmishes, advancing by alternate ranks.

17. Line closes; reserve divisions come into line.

18. Line breaks into open column, right in front, and closing in front in redouble time forms solid square. Square fires.

19. Reform column and open from the rear.

20. Column, excepting rear division, wheels into echelon and forms line on rear division. Fires by platoons from left to right.

21. Line retires.

22. Form hollow square on centre grand division, the left division skirmishing in front. Skirmishers retreat to prepare for cavalry; square fires.

23. Reform line; advance in quick and slow time.

24. Fire a volley and port arms; advance; charge.

General salute.

(Signed). J. OUTRAM, LIEUT.,

Comg. Bheel Corps.

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The following letter was now addressed to the Collector by Lieutenant Outram. It will be observed that he moves with caution. He does not thump his chest, and exclaim that his corps is ready to go anywhere and do anything. But he does ask that it may be given some real work, on outpost duty and so forth, and that it may have the honour of furnishing escorts to the Collector and Captain Ovans, the Southern Bhil Agent.

SIR,

1. I have the honour to report that the Bheel Corps may now be entrusted with the following duties, and to offer its services in the performance of such during the following year, at the end of which the corps may furnish outposts, but at present it would be imprudent to send the Bheels on this duty as they might, if removed for a length of time to a distance from Head-quarters before being more accustomed to obedience and discipline, relapse into bad habits and relax in discipline.

2. Parties of the Bheel sepoys accompanied by a proportion of the Regulars of the corps may now be safely intrusted with the charge of treasure or prisoners and escorting it from the neighbouring pergunnahs to Dooliah. These parties can be supplied at the requisition of the mamletdars, who have had your authority for demanding them.

3 On the occasion of robberies or offences committed in the neighbouring pergunnahs parties can be sent to preserve the peace and apprehend offenders, in which duties I trust they will prove very effectual; but when any particular duty of this nature is to be performed I would wish the party to act as far as possible by instructions from Head-quarters, for rendering them liable to interference or ill-treatment from your inferior servants at this early stage might have a bad effect on the corps.

4 The corps is ready to act in a body or detachment against any assembly of outlaws, and I can answer for them as now quite sufficient for the suppression of any body of Bheels or of any force which can ever be assembled in the province.

5 The Bheel Corps would also, I trust, prove an effectual assistance in the extensive operations against more formid-

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able enemies should opportunity offer in Candeish or its neighbourhood and I hope it may be employed on the first occasion, as a little service is all that is now required to stamp its efficiency.

6 Your kind offer, as also Captain Ovans', to take a party of the Bheel corps on your personal escort in the District I most gladly avail myself of, nothing could be more beneficial to the corps than your thus placing trust and confidence in the Bheels. This employment will also raise them in the eyes of other classes and it has excited a lively feeling of pride and gratitude in the whole corps and indeed your kindness to the corps, the interest in their successful establishment you have shown from the commencement, your recent presence on their successive parades, the general pardon you have granted, the promotion of Bheels to jemedars, added to the above display of your confidence, have had the best possible effect.

7 I now purpose to increase the corps by recommencing recruiting which I had suspended during the last 6 months for reasons I formerly stated; to this end I intend, if I have your permission, making the tour of those parts of the country which I could not visit last year. As soon as the arrival of Lieut. Beck will enable me to leave Headquarters, I shall endeavour to draw off recruits from all parts of the Satpoora Hills and make myself perfectly acquainted with all strongholds and places of refuge in that range, so that on the recurrence of any disturbances similar to the late one, I may be able with the Bheel Corps immediately to suppress them.

The Collector, in endorsing Lieutenaut Outram's recommendations, writes as follows to Government:—

Sir,

1 I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council copy of a letter with three enclosures, dated the 13th instant, from the Officer Commanding the Bheel Corps reporting the duties which may now, in his opinion, be confided to them and which will accordingly be assigned to them as occasion may offer.

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2 In forwarding this report I have great satisfaction in adding my testimony to the efficient and orderly state of the Bheel Corps and in congratulating the Hon'ble the Governor in Council on the complete success of a system which however difficult in operation originally and doubtful in result, has been achieved by the indefatigable exertion and excellent management of Lieutenant Outram assisted by a few meritorious Native officers and sepoys of the Line.

3 As to the progress of the corps in Military Exercises detailed in the accompaniments to Lieut. Outram's letter, I have the authority of Captain Ovans, who was also present at their parades, for stating that in this respect their performances were remarkably steady and accurate; but although this circumstance is no doubt a source of much gratification to Lieut. Outram, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council will probably derive greater satisfaction from reflecting on the alterations which this submission to a mild system of military discipline is calculated to produce on the habits and feelings of the men of the corps, and the advantage to which their reformation may be progressively turned by creating an extended interest on the part of the Bheels and their connexions in supporting peace and good order throughout the Province.

4 In explanation of the general pardon to the Bheels enlisted in the corps adverted to in para. 6, of Lieut. Outram's letter, I beg leave to inform the Hon'ble the Governor in Council that having reason to believe the minds of some individuals were still not altogether at ease with regard to their liability to be questioned for former offences, I adopted the steps of personally pledging my word to every member of the corps assembled on parade that all past offences were from that day forgiven and forgotton, and to impart to them the most perfect confidence in this very essential point I placed in the hands of their Soubedar in their presence a Cowl, a general pardon, annexing thereto the name of each Bheel in the corps and containing the usual condition that future offences would involve the forfeit of the present Cowl.

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5 At the recommendation of Lieut. Outram and in conformity to the instructions sanctioned at the formation of the corps with regard to promoting Bheels when the corps became sufficiently advanced in discipline, three Bheels were promoted by me to the rank of Jemedar on which occasion I presented each of them with a suitable turban. On this subject I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter dated the 13th instant from the Officer Commanding the corps and beg to recommend the suggestion therein conveyed that these Jemedars should be allowed rupees 15 per month with Rs. 5 as batta when absent on duty and that they should receive a commission bearing the seal and signature of the Local Magistrate.

In January 1827 Lieutenant Beck arrived at Dharangaon and took charge as Adjutant. This enabled Outram to go on tour in the west of the province. He obtained many recruits, and his letters shew his appreciation of the help given him by local Bhil chiefs. The tour was hindered for a very short time by a mutiny among the camp followers, who went off to Malegaon with a petition of grievances. It is hardly necessary to say that Outram was exculpated from all blame in the matter.

Up to this time the old Khandesh Local Battalion of irregulars had been dragging on a more or less useless existence. Doubtless owing to the increased efficiency of the Bhil Corps, an order in Council of April 1827 directs its immediate disbandment, which was duly carried out.

During the hot weather of 1827 Outram carried out some operations in the Satpuras against a gang of Bhils. His official reports are brief enough, but show how proud he is of his corps.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to submit a report of my proceedings against a gang of Bheels which has been some time assembled in the hills beyond Seerpoor ; and I trust the urgency of the case will exonerate me from blame for having undertaken operations without previously awaiting your instructions.

The original gang of seven, under Cundoo naique, for each of whom large rewards have been offered by proclamation

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for their apprehension, had been lately joined by Mahdoo Sing and Govindah naiques with about 20 followers, and also by a man who had been in the Bheel corps (I suspect a man named Lahanoo who had been a Havildar but was dismissed for bad conduct). Report said they had despatched emissaries to assemble all the disaffected in the province and I learnt that their numbers were daily increasing ; that having remained so long unmolested they were becoming very bold and had attempted to plunder the village of Boorwarry and threatened to renew the attack to resist which the Patell had assembled about 25 Bheels under Fuckir and Dhun Sing naiques upon whom no certain dependence could be placed. These particulars I learned on my arrival at Toorkaira, and I intended requesting your orders how to act, when on the morning of the 19th instant two coonbees came to me to complain that 6 carts and 24 bullocks had been seized by the gang the day before. This determined me to go against them immediately, trusting that a speedy check would deter others from joining the gang and that I should recover the stolen property.

3 Accordingly I immediately marched my recruiting detachment to Tekwarry, 6 coss, and joined it myself in the evening, having selected a detail of one Havildar of Regulars, and 1 Jemedar, 1 Havildar and 25 Rank and File, disciplined Bheels. I marched with it at sunset on Boorwarry, 10 coss, at which place I arrived before moonrise. I found the villagers in alarm, expecting an attack from the rebels. I immediately caused Callian Chowdray and Dhun Sing and Ouchit naiques to assemble their followers to accompany me to the haunt of the Bheels, situated 4 coss further in the hills. We reached their position just at daybreak, but I was surprised and disappointed to find they had received information of our movements and had removed their wives and families, remaining themselves to resist us. They attacked us very spiritedly and wounded my Bheel Jemedar before we fired a shot. This together with their terrific shouts and the showers of arrows, stones, etc.,

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they poured upon us from a commanding height at first startled my detachment but it speedily rallied and maintained the skirmish very steadily. We drove the enemy from several of the heights but seeing that by so doing I merely fatigued my men to no purpose, I feigned a retreat which drew them down to a level with us, when my detachment charged very gallantly and speedily dispersed them. They, however, reassembled, but having again charged them they dared no longer to oppose us and we seized 20 of the bullocks that had been stolen two days before (we found the carcases of two of them which they had killed for food and the remaining two are missing) took the only matchlock in their possession and a quantity of their property. All of my men having been employed without intermission 15 hours I did not attempt to follow the Bheels but reposed my detachment at the nearest water and returned to Boorwarry in the evening.

5 I sustained a loss in wounded of 1 Bheel Jemadar, severely by two arrows, 2 Bheel sepoys, slightly by arrows, and several others bruised by stones, etc. I saw two of the enemy fall who were carried off by their companions, apparently dead, and at least two others were evidently wounded. I did not allow my men to waste their cartridges, and not above 150 rounds were fired altogether, otherwise the loss of the enemy might have been more severe.

6 At midnight I again returned to the hills with about 20 Bheel sepoys and a Subedar (private of Regulars) to endeavour to surprise the gang. It had dispersed, and after searching their haunts and scouring the hills until mid-day yesterday I returned to Borwarry, having only seen 5 Bheels who fled at our approach.

7 I am satisfied that the gang is now dispirited and broken, that this example will deter others from joining them, and that the rebellion which otherwise might have been very serious may now be entirely quashed by the exertions of the Mamletdar aided by a smaller detachment.

8 I have placed part of my detachment at the disposal of the Mamletdar and desired him to make use of Ouchit and

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Dhun Sing's followers to apprehend the offenders, telling him I would write to request your approval of this arrangement, and to recommend that the followers of the naiques employed on this duty may be allowed daily provisions.

9 I trust the conduct of the Bheel detachment may meet with your approbation. This is the first opportunity my Bheels have had of shedding their blood for their new masters, they freely risked it and fought boldly in our cause though opposed to their own caste and probably relations. The steadiness with which they rallied, the boldness with which they charged, the prudence with which they reserved their fire, the very great fatigue they so cheerfully underwent, and the readiness with which all but the wounded returned with me to the hills, entitles them to the fullest approbation of Government, especially considering they were unsupported by any Regulars, and that the whole detachment was composed of mere boys, not more than four of them being above eighteen years of age, and that the enemy they had to deal with was by no means contemptible, being almost exactly the same in point of numbers, weapons, and determination as that which repulsed a detachment of Regulars thrice the strength of mine and aided by horsemen, only a few months ago.

SIR,

I do myself the honour to report further proceedings against the Bheel Rebels since the despatch of my former letter dated 21st instant.

Having on the night of the 23rd instant received an express from the Mamletdar from Borwarry, stating that a gang of about 20 armed Bheels had entered the hills the day before under Zeepriah naique (one of the original offenders for whom rewards had been offered) who had been despatched by Cundoo naique about 15 days ago for the purpose of collecting their auxiliaries, and being apprehensive that this reinforcement might induce the fugitives of the gang I had already dispersed, to reassemble, I immediately proceeded from Talnair to rejoin my detachment at Borwarry with the intention of acting against them. I

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arrived at that place, a distance of 24 miles, by daybreak, and found the spies returned with intelligence that Zeepriah's gang on learning the fate of their comrades, who they dared not attempt to aid, had fled from the hills the evening before. I immediately proceeded with a few horsemen in chase of them, but after following them by their tracks eleven miles in the direction of Kerroon, was obliged to return, they having then apparently separated and dispersed, I presume with the intention of all returning quietly to their homes, excepting Zeepriah and one or two of his companions, who having already been concerned in several robberies cannot expect to remain unmolested. They most probably will seek refuge in the neighbourhood of the Aunair River and must soon fall into the hands of Dhun Sing, the naique of the Amba pergannah, to whom I have sent information of their flight.

The original gang under Mahdoo Sing, Cundoo, and Govindah naiques, which I dispersed on the 19th instant, is reduced to only 5 or 6 fighting men, and it is reported that Cundoo and Govindah naiques were killed in my attack. All who were not concerned in the first robberies appear to have fled in hope of remaining unnoticed; the remaining few who dare not return to the plains and seek safety in constant flight are already pressed by Ouchit, Dhun Sing, and Babria naiques with their followers, into whose hands they must soon fall.

I confidently expect the complete settlement of this part of the country will be effected by the Mamletdar in a very few days, aided by my detachment, and no further force will be required. I returned to Talnair this morning seeing no likelihood of my presence being longer required, but I am ready to afford the Mamletdar every assistance in my power and to return to the hills should anything occur to render it necessary.

Should you send the detachment of Regulars which I recommended being placed at the disposal of the Mamletdar, I think it had best be stationed at Kerroon to overawe the Bheels of the Amba pergannah and deter them from affording refuge to the offenders.

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Proclamations forbidding any person from affording protection, food, etc., to any of the refugees, offering rewards, etc., throughout the Talnair and Chopra pergannahs would have a good effect.

I think I may now assure you that this rebellion is entirely quelled as far as can be effected by force of arms, and the measures adopted by the Mamletdar must soon place the ringleaders in our possession. The prompt and fortunately timed attack of my detachment has certainly prevented the most formidable assemblage of Bheels that has taken place for a length of time past, for Zeepriah, who fortunately arrived too late with his auxiliaries, was only one of many emissaries the gang had despatched to collect the disaffected, all of whom must have quietly dispersed to their homes when they heard the result of the attack.

The gangs were dispersed, and their leaders captured or killed. Outram makes many recommendations for rewards to local Bhils and to men of his corps for their good service. He never mentions his own name. But there is a story told by Capt. Scott, who got his information, as in the case of the Nandurbar panther, from old Bhil Corps officers. It is reported to relate to occurrences in November 1826. Official records, however, show no expedition to have taken place about that time. However, it is an unlikely time of year for gangs to be out, for after the rains the jungle is hard to penetrate, and travellers are few. It is far more probable that the anecdote relates to the 1827 expedition into the Satpuras.

2 In 1826 a Bheel naik named Govinda, having collected a band of lawless men, looted villages, robbed the high ways and gave a vast deal of trouble to the surrounding districts. He resided principally at Boradee, a village in the Thalnair Taluka. Outram sent a caution to him to desist from his predatory habits, when the naik returned an answer to the effect —"that as long as he had a handful of powder and ball so long would he hold out." This was too much to bear quietly. Outram, therefore, in the month of November, taking 200 of the Bheel Corps with him left Dhurrumgaum and proceeded to the village of Boradee, where he encamped. On the following day he made a sudden descent (called a

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To

Geo. Gubbins Esq

Collector in Cuttack

Sir

I beg to recommend Lieutenant Douglas C Graham of the 19th Regiment N I to the situation of Adjutant to the Khiel corps vacant by the death of Lieut. Buck

In forwarding my recommendation I request you will mention as the reason of it having been so long delayed the severe illness I have laboured under since the death of Lieut. Buck

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obed. Servant

J. Outram

Comd. Khiel Corps

Dooliah

8th. September 1827.

Reduced fascimile of a letter from Outram.

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"chappa") on Govinda's village, and such was the nature of the attack that the Bheels precipitately fled. Outram pursued, and knowing Govinda by description, he was enabled to single him out and make a living capture of him, himself. He brought Govinda to Dhulia, where he was left a prisoner in the jail till he died. The band, on the capture of their naik, broke up and returned to their homes.

On his return to Dharangaon for the Rains, Outram experienced very severe trouble. The only mention of it is contained in a brief letter here reproduced. The handwriting is as bold and firm as usual, indicating that the writer had recovered his health. The letter itself is sufficiently pathetic, and it is easy to weave round it a story. At the beginning of the rains, water at Dharangaon is both scanty and foul, and cholera was often reported. It may well be that Lieutenant Beck caught this disease, and that his Commandant attended him, and was thereby infected. This of course is not certain, but the theory accords well with Outram's character, and accounts for his connecting Lieutenant Beck's death with his own illness.

SIR,

I beg to recommend Lieutenant Douglas O. Graham of the 19th Regiment N. I. to the situation of Adjutant to the Bheel Corps vacant by the death of Lieutenant Beck.

In forwarding my recommendation I request you will mention as the reason of its having been so long delayed the severe illness I have laboured under since the death of Lieutenant Beck.

Neither the loss of his Adjutant, nor his own ill health, prevented Outram from working hard at the men's drill. Previous to splitting up the corps into the several detachments already suggested, it was determined that the whole battalion should be reviewed by the General Commanding at Malegaon. The review took place on November 20 and 21, 1827, and the Inspection Return and Field State of the corps are here given. The "Performance" attached to both is carefully written out by Outram himself, and may well interest any soldier who cares to follow the details of the drill of that period. The General was unable to be present, but the corps was duly reviewed by his Major of Brigade, whose report, here appended, has nothing but praise for Outram and his men.

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BHEEL CORPS.

Inspection Return of the Bheel Corps of Candeish.
Durrungaum, 20th November, 1827.

Formed in eight divisions.		Regulars.										Bheel Levy.									Establishment.						
												Disciplined.					Sebundies.							Artificers.			
		Subidar Major.	Subidars.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Buglers.	Acting Buglers.	Privates.	Total.	Bhisties.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Grand Total.	Native Doctor.	English writer.	Carcoon.	Armourer.	Asst. Do.	Bellows boy.	Mochi.
Present.	Present under arms	1	2	2	4	3	1	3	27	43	7	3	16	16	396	431	4	2	34	40	471	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	On duty	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	11	12	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	At and Attending drill ...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	40	40	...	...	...	...	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
	Sick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Absent.	On Command	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	On furlough	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	9	9	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	..	..
	Without leave	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Sick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Doing duty with 23rd Regt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total. ...	1	2	2	5	5	1	5	40	61	8	3	16	16	465	500	4	2	34	40	540	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

(Signed) J. OUTRAM.
Lieut. Commanding.

PERFORMANCE.

GENERAL SALUTE!

MANUAL AND PLATOON EXERCISE.

Commissioned Officers and Regulars being sent to the rear the corps breaks into 16 Divisions which perform the manual and platoon exercise and drill independently under Bheel Non-Commissioned Officers, fuglemen, etc, unassisted by the Regulars.

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FIELD STATE OF THE BHEEL CORPS OF KHANDESH.

DURRUNGAUM, *21st November*, 1827.

Formed in eight Divisions.		Regulars.									Bheel Levy.									
											Disciplined.					Sebundies.				
		Subidar Major.	Subidars.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Buglers.	Ag. Buglers.	Privates.	Total.	Jemidars.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Privates.	Total.	Total Bheels.
Present.	Present under Arms	1	2	2	4	3	1	3	27	43	3	16	16	396	431	4	2	34	40	471
	On Duty	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	11	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	At and Attending Drill ...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	40	40	...	...	...	...	40
	Sick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14	...	...	...	...	14
Absent.	On Command	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	On Furlough	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9	...	...	...	...	9
	Without leave	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	4
	Sick	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2
	Doing duty with 23rd Regt...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total ...	1	2	2	5	5	1	5	40	61	3	16	16	465	500	4	2	34	40	540

PERFORMANCE

GRAND SALUTE

March round in reversed order—quick and slow time.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM,
Lieut. Comdg.

THE TAY BECOMES A BATTALION.

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No.	Battalion Manœuvres.	Light Infantry Movements.
1	Open column—right in front. Advance—quick time.	
2	Form Line to Rear—on 8th Division. Firing—double march.	
3	Close Column Rear of 1st Division —March.	
4	Column wheel to the Right. —March.	
5	Deploy into Line on 1st Division. —Double March.	
6	Line advance—March. Left subdivisions to front—quick march. Left sections advance to skirmish—Double. Rear subdivisions form chain.	(1) "Advance," "Extend," "Fire." Extended line skirmishes to front (advancing by alternate ranks.) (2) "Form chain" Chain skirmish to the rear.
8	Subdivisions right wheel. Rear subdivisions—press through the column—fire a volley—and form on the left subdivisions.	(3) Chain close subdivisions.
9	By double files to the centre rear. Wing to the front.	
10	Column advances protected by skirmishers in front, flanks and rear. "Halt." Skirmishers recalled.	(4) Front and rear Companies—Form advance and rear guard and outward, sections extend on the flanks (5) the whole advance skirmishing round the advancing column. (6) Assembly.

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No.	Battalion Manœuvres.	Light Infantry Movements.
11	Form subdivision square on centre subdivisions—*Double March.* Fire { Standing ranks by subdivisions. Kneeling ranks by volley. Re-form column.	
12	Column change front by wheel and counter march of subdivisions round the centre.	
13	Column advance covered by 8th Division. "March."	7 "Advance"—Extend to Right. "Fire" (to 8th Division which advances skirmishing to front by alternate ranks.)
14	Form line to front on leading Divisions. "Double March."	
15	"Halt." "Form four deep." (Skirmishers re-called.) "Form two deep." "Fire a volley." "Advance." "Charge."	"Alarm." —Skirmishers run through the line, which then reforms.
16	Open column. Left in Front Advance. Close to front and form solid square. "Double March." { Firing standing ranks by files. Kneeling ranks by a volley.	
17	Reform column. Take ground to the left (sections left wheel)—Quick March.	
18	"Right turn." "Front form Divisions."	

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No.	Battalion Manœuvres.	Light Infantry Movements.
18	"Open from the Front." "Halt." "Wheel into Line."	
19	Advance by Double Files from the centre.	
20	Form Double Column of subdivisions.	
21	Advance by successive Divisions. Street firing.	
22	Pass the obstacles in front by columns of sections and front form line on the centre subdivisions. Firing platoons from the centre.	
23	Advance by Grand Divisions from the left covered by 1st and 8th Divisions.	8. Advance, "Extend," "Skirmish," "Fire," (to 1st and 8th Divisions).
24	"Halt." Grand Divisions on your centres. "Right wheel." "Advance."	9. "Skirmishers—sections left shoulders forward, front form, advance."
25	"Halt." Form Grand Divisions square on right centre subdivisions. "Prepare for Cavalry." Fire by squares—from the right.	10. "Retreat." (Skirmishers retire in extended order to the intervals between and on each flank of the line of squares). "Lie down."
26	"Squares advance by front faces." "Front square halt." "Reform Line." Rear squares form up into line on the Right Grand Division.	11. Skirmishers advance. "Fire."
27	"Open column right in front." "Advance."	12. Sections left shoulders forward. "Advance." (Extended line breaks into open columns, skirmishing to left.)

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No.	Battalion Manœuvres.	Light Infantry Movements.
28	Halt. "Form four deep." "By successive Divisions press through the intervals—rear wing to Front." Column advances.	13. Extended column performs corresponding movements and presses through the intervals. 14. To the right of the Battalion column skirmishing to right.
29	Halt. "Wheel into Line." "Line advance."	15. Extended column left shoulders forward into line—advances skirmishing.
30	"Halt." "Line advances" (passes between the squares.) Fires a volley. "Quick march." "Charge."	16. Alarm. "Form rallying squares" (skirmishers rally round their officers on the flanks.) Line having passed the squares form divisions and follow up into line.
31	Form hollow squares on centre divisions. "Fire by Companies."	
32	Reform line to rear on centre divisions countermarched.	
33	Line advances and retires—changing from slow to quick and quick to slow time.	

General Salute.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM,

Lieut. Commanding.

SIR,

I have the honour to communicate to you for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division that on a requisition from the Civil authorities in Candeish, and with his sanction, I proceeded to Dhurrungaum on the 16th ultimo for the purpose of inspecting and reviewing the Bheel Corps under the command of Lieutenant Outram, preparatory to their taking a proportion of the outposts in the province.

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2 I have now the gratification to report the result of the observations I made on the formation, interior arrangements, and the discipline of this meritorious Regiment. The whole reflects so much credit on the temper, judgment, and perseverance of Lieutenant Outram that I should fail in the duty imposed on me if I were to omit bringing his exemplary conduct and exertions to the notice of the Major-General.

3 I shall endeavour to do justice by detailing the exhibitions I witnessed on the three successive days the Regiment was under arms, and if I trespass longer on your attention than is usually observed I hope I may have every indulgence for that irregularity.

4 The Inspection took place on the evening of the 20th ultimo, and the Return I here enclose will shew the Major-General the numerical strength of the Regiment paraded for the occasion. There were about 50 undisciplined Bheels on the strength, but who have been employed rather as auxiliaries and spies, their duty rendering it expedient that they should not be accoutred or distinguished by any badge so as to attract observation.

5 The body of men composing the Regiment are generally of small stature, averaging about 5 feet 2½ inches in height, spare in form and very ill looking in their countenance, but they make up for these imperfections by a sagacity and intelligence probably acquired by the exercise of a previous predatory life. Their activity was remarked on the day of the Review, when most of the movements were performed in double time, and their appearance altogether would strongly support the character of hardihood and a capability of undergoing great exertions and fatigue under every privation.

6 The Regiment is composed of young men from 16 years old to 20 and there are not more than 30 men in the Ranks beyond the age of 25 years. The basis and formation then has the advantage of consisting of youths, who being drawn early from their vices have every expectation in time of forgetting their former bad habits and under the superintendence of such an officer as Lieutenant Outram, who has an intimate

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knowledge of their customs and manners, the corps is likely to become most efficient, particularly for the desultory mode of warfare they were originally raised and intended for.

7 The men are armed with Fuzees, the whole in good condition, having been received, the majority, lately from stores. The clothing and accoutrements have been fitted with care, the turbans are of blue dungaree made after the native pattern, the whole dress combined giving an appearance extremely suitable and becoming.

8 No complaints of any kind were preferred to me, and I have every reason to suppose a perfect contentment pervaded all ranks.

9 The Regiment after going through the manual and platoon exercises in Line, which was very well performed, broke into open column of 16 Divisions commanded by native commissioned and non-commissioned Bheel officers, and exhibited in a very interesting degree the proficiency which had been acquired in their duty, by putting their several sub-divisions through the manual and platoon and then performing many sections of the drill without any assistance or interference from the Regulars, who had previously retired to the rear of the Regiment.

10 The Review took place on the morning of the 21st; the Return No. 2 was presented to me on the ground as a guide for the morning performances. I should consider myself extremely culpable if I were to pass over unnoticed the deserving and highly praiseworthy manner the Regiment conducted itself on this occasion and the comparatively high degree of discipline it has attained under the excellent tuition of its Commanding Officer.

11 After passing in Review Order in slow and quick time very creditably they commenced their manœuvres; it was by a careful and attentive observation of 3 hours that I had full and fair opportunity of judging of the merits of the Regiment. I was particularly struck with the self-possession and confidence with which the native Bheel commissioned and non-commissioned officers conducted their divisions, sub-divisions, and sections without any palpable mistakes, and all which plainly proved that they had been well instruct-

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ed and were fully competent for Regimental duty in their different grades.

12 I beg in a most particular manner to convey to the Major-General the good effect and the correct manner the 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, movements were conducted to prove the steadiness of the Regiment. These evolutions were performed designedly under every obstacle, passing through a gateway from the parade through the barrack yard, in the centre of which was a large well with piled up stone which occupied the principal space in breadth, from thence over uneven ground and intervening old buildings, without any mistakes and in so steady and military a manner as to call for my unqualified approbation. The march in echelon of squares of Grand Divisions over bad ground and to a distance of nearly 250 yards covered by their flank company was such as would claim a favourable comparison with the performance of many of the best native Regiments of the Line.

13 The morning of the 22nd was devoted to Ball Practice, a Return of which, filled up in the ground, I have the pleasure to enclose. The three columns represent the firing by single files at the respectable distances of 100, 150 and 200 paces. As the tribe of Bheels have the character of being good marksmen I propose at once to establish their claim to this distinction by reference to the latter distance. The mode of firing most in repute with the men was that of the kneeling position, particularly with those who had been accustomed to matchlocks, but their chief merit consisted in the confidence with which they took aim and used their arms. The ammunition, I must beg to remark, was of the very worst description.

14 In visiting the hospital I found it clean and under the care of a respectable Native Medical Assistant, the stores of medicines appeared to be adequate and in good condition, the average of sick appears to be about 12, giving the climate and location of the cantonments a favourable consideration. The barracks for the men are perfectly comfortable and convenient, very ably laid and well executed.

15 I could dilate with much satisfaction on many other points connected with the Review and Inspection, I have now the

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honour to report, I cannot however withhold my regret that Lieutenant Outram has not had the good fortune to exhibit his Regiment before the Major-General, whose great experience where the discipline of the Army is concerned would have decided on, and justly appreciated his merits, so much beyond my humble opinion and report.

16 It would be desirable, however, that I should briefly state the difficulties under which this Regiment has been formed and collected together. Lieutenant Outram's laborious and strenuous exertions to recruit it, have been of no ordinary and delicate kind considering that upwards of two hundred have been entertained within the last 12 months and that the class and description of people, who compose it, are known to have been drawn from scenes of occasional rebellion and living in an uncivilized state, subject only to a partial obedience to their nominal chiefs. Under all these disadvantages Lieutenant Outram has managed to draw them from their predatory haunts, induced them to enter the ranks as soldiers with confidence and subject themselves to a steady and salutary discipline, while he has at the same time with a firmness combined with a kindliness of manner instilled into their minds an obedience and affection to the Government.

17 I shall conclude my report by requesting the Major-General, if he approves of the manner I have commented on the Inspection and Review, to do me the favour of bringing Lieutenant Outram's meritorious exertions and conduct to the notice of Government.

The method of recruiting, on personal recommendation, employed by Outram, the success of his new detachments and the difficulties experienced owing to Hindu prejudices against Bhils, are exemplified in extracts from letters from Capt. Ovans and Mr. Bax here given.

CAMP BHURGAUM,
30th March 1827.

MY DEAR OUTRAM,

I have written to Mr. Beck by the bearer, Abheeman Walad Sutwa Bheel of Kurunj Pergunna Khandala whom, after a great deal of trouble, I have at last persuaded to enter into the

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corps. He is a restless and dangerous character, who will not settle at the plough, and who must not be left without a subsistence. But he will make a famous grenadier—when you form your flank companies. Indeed, I think, you will find him turn out a good soldier, and in this case, I have assured him of speedy promotion. He would have been a formidable character, if the Bheels had remained, in the hills. Graham knows him, and will tell you all about him. But he is now very "ghureeb" and I must bespeak your favour for him. I have ventured to tell Mr. Beck, that it will be necessary to enlist Abheeman immediately on his arrival at Dhurrungaum, and give him pay, otherwise, he may be changing his mind, as he is still rather wild. He has a relation (or relations) in the corps who will answer for his good behaviour. One of them is in my guard. Apropos of them I am happy to say they are doing as well as you could wish; indeed, I never had better men about me than they are. I employ them immediately about my person; in fact, in every way that Regulars are required, and they are as steady and quiet as I could possibly desire.

MY DEAR OUTRAM,

I do not think I have answered your acceptable letter of the 2nd ultimo. I hope Abheeman Bheel will turn out well, and if he does he will be really an acquisition to the corps, being a very good looking fellow and clever withal. I was very happy to hear that you had been so successful against the tigers. The slaughter of that monster near Eesurbaree was quite a triumph. I hope my friend Hyon is now quite recovered of his wounds and that the Surkaree elephant is improving in such good company. After wandering about as usual my tents are now pitched here. The Mulkapur Bheels are again getting troublesome and I have been obliged to get some Horse and Foot here to keep the peace. I expect Mr. Ralph, the Nizam's Bheel Agent, in this quarter immediately, and he will probably settle some of them. I shall ask him to try and recruit for you. I have been unable, I am sorry to say, to get you any men here. I have given up my escort of Regulars and now depend entirely on my Bheel guard, who

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march about famously. I cannot speak too highly of their conduct. Indeed, if you have 100 more of such men, I should be happy to allow them immediately to take all the posts in this agency. Let me know if you could pick out so many strong fellows, or perhaps we had better begin with 50. However, my opinion is still unchanged, viz., that you should not detach the corps too soon.

DEAR OUTRAM,

I find here, as I have found in other places, an objection on the part of the barbers to shave your Bheels. I have never yet had occasion to *compel* the barbers to shave them, but here they strenuously object on the score of caste. At Durrungaum you have a fixed barber, so that all is right there but as your men will be scattered we must do something on this score.

Tell me what you conceive to be customary and whether the Bheels ought to shave themselves or have a special shaver. It has been a fertile source of complaint, but the Bheels have been shaved hitherto. At one place these barbers refused to shave the Bheels but a timely fine soon produced the razor.

Yours very truly,

JOHN BAX.

At this time Outram was still alone, for Lieutenant Graham, though his appointment was sanctioned, had not yet appeared in Khandesh.

Government was now so pleased with the success of the Bhil Corps, that it resolved to make a further experiment on similar lines in Gujarat. Lieutenant Outram was asked to make suggestions, based on his own experience. He accordingly addressed a most interesting demi official letter to the Collector, which is well worth study.

MY DEAR SIR,

The official reports of my proceedings during the first year and half of my employment in raising the Bheel Corps will fully show the manner I adopted to effect the conciliation and remove the fears of the Bheels. Should it be the intention of Government to raise a similar corps in Goozerat, perhaps copies of these reports might be of some, though I fear not

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much, use for I suspect the Bheels of different countries are only similar in name.

The following is a slight general sketch of my proceedings from the commencement of the undertaking in Candeish. April and May 1825 I resided in the midst of Bheel Hutties endeavouring by various modes of conciliation to attach two or three individuals to my person, in which having succeeded I through their means endeavoured to seduce others from their Naiques under pretence of employment as subedars, with a promise that after residing a sufficient time with me to obtain my confidence they should be sent to their villages there to remain in that capacity. In the course of 4 or 5 months I had assembled a considerable number who were sensible of the ease and comfort of their new situations compared to their former mode of life, being paid daily and employed on trifling duties.

Having brought them to a sense of the advantages of our service and removed their suspicions I persuaded them of the advantages of our musquet compared to the matchlock and introduced the former merely as a weapon for their own protection. I then separated the old from the young men and gave them to understand that Government could not be satisfied that they intended to serve us faithfully unless they underwent slight discipline, excepting the old men who were to continue on their former footing on condition the others submitted to drill, thus causing the older men who had most influence to be interested in persuading the younger to submit to my will. I then brought them to consent to the introduction of a few Regulars for their instruction. These men being selected by my own knowledge of their good character, high caste etc., soon obtained the confidence and respect of the Bheels, who were proud of being treated as equals and companions by men of a caste which hitherto had spurned them. The influence obtained by the Regulars enabled me gradually through them to mould the corps into its present form and I have found the Bheels sufficiently pliant in disposition to enable me to turn them to my wish in every respect, even to refraining from liquor, etc.

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I consider that everything depends on the character of the Regulars introduced and on their caste, for even Bheels look with contempt on the inferior grade of Hindoos and only respect the highest.

I shall be happy to afford any information that may afterwards be required in particular.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

8th January 1828.

Great as was the satisfaction of Government at the progress of the corps, there now becomes evident a desire to restrict it both in numbers and efficiency. Orders were issued forbidding any increase in the number of disciplined men. All recruits were to form part of the undisciplined ranks, and an endeavour was to be made to officer those ranks from among the Bhil chieftains. Equipage and stores were reduced, and economy was enjoined in every direction. The Collector and Outram protested most strongly. They argued that it was largely the sense of discipline, esprit de corps, and assimilation to the regular line, which had turned the Bhils from plunder and rapine to the protection of the country. They stated that an undisciplined and half tamed mob of Bhils under their own chiefs would be more likely to rob than to protect the country, and would eventually revert to the status quo ante. But Government remained for the present obdurate, though the savings effected owing to replacing detachments of Regulars by men of the Bhil Corps might well have been treated as a set off to the small extra expenditure proposed.

About this time a small measure was introduced to increase the authority of the Commandant. Hitherto he had had but little power of punishing offenders in the corps. He was now gazetted Assistant Magistrate and Collector, and therefore received the necessary authority. A letter from the Collector to Government throws a curious light on the methods of punishment considered the most suitable at that period.

SIR,

1 I have the honour to hand up the accompanying copy of a letter from Lieutenant Outram commanding the Bheel Corps,

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dated the 23rd instant, and beg to recommend the measure proposed therein.

2 As Officer Commanding the Corps some power to inflict punishment for misdemeanours is absolutely necessary, and I know of no method more advantageous in every point of view than trial by Punchait. The punishment, I should respectfully suggest, should be limited to two dozen stripes or running the gauntlet, the latter to be carried into effect with the ends of turbans or slippers, and 30 days' imprisonment on conjee diet.

3 An abstract of the trials and sentences may be furnished to me monthly which can be embodied in the quarterly return forwarded in the Judicial Department or may be furnished separately.

It is not certain when, precisely, Lieutenant Graham arrived, but it was some time in the latter part of 1828, for he presided at a court of enquiry into the conduct of one Dhokul Sing, Subedar. This officer was convicted of grossly calumniating the Subedar-Major. When Outram forwarded the proceedings of the Court, he was informed that they were entirely irregular, that he should at once forward Dhokul Sing in custody to Malegaon, and that he would then be tried by court martial. This was done, and Dhokul Sing was given the option of returning to his regiment as Havildar or resigning the service. He resigned, but Outram was too chivalrous to allow him to suffer this extreme punishment. He offered to take him back into the Bhil Corps with the local rank of Subedar, and this was allowed. Incidentally, the Collector and Outram were mortified at the decision of Government that rank given in the Bhil Corps to men volunteering from the Line would be only considered as local rank. This was most discouraging to the men, who had left the comparative comfort of Regular regimental service to help train the Bhils, to endure the scoffs of their caste-fellows and to serve in remote and unhealthy outposts.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE BHIL CORPS ON DUTY.

THE battalion has now been followed from its infancy, through its growth, to a period of vigorous youth. It has been armed, uniformed, and drilled, and has been declared fit to take its place among the regiments of the Line. Its constitution and status, from commandant to recruit, has been made clear. From henceforth it must be regarded as the guardian of the province. Gradually the regular military outposts were withdrawn and replaced by the Bhil Corps, until there were no toops in the province except at Malegaon and Asirgadh. Slowly the marauding Bhil gangs were destroyed, reduced, or made to surrender until none was left. The villages were repopulated, the jungle reclaimed. The timid cultivators returned home and resumed their farms. A permanent peace spread over the province, and has lasted with one great exception to this day. So complete is that peace that the inhabitants have forgotton the existence of armed men, and regard soldiers as evil spirits, from whose visits their country is fortunately free. Only recently a regiment of Native Lancers marched through the province, and their mere presence so terrified the villagers, that they fled to the hills, men, women, children, and cattle, and there abode until the dreaded soldiers had passed on.

But all this was not the work of a day. That it was accomplished at all is largely due to Outram and his men.

In January 1829 bands of Bhils about 300 strong were plundering in the hills east of Ajanta and made descents on Malkapur in Berar. A detachment of 46 Bhil sepoys marched with Major Ovans, S. Bhil Agent, to Jamner. There appears to have been no fighting, the mere presence of the detachment being enough to keep the marauders out of Khandesh. Later in the year Outram was requested to take as many of his men as were available to Mulher. A gang of

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Kolis from the Nasik ghats was expected to endeavour to break through Khandesh and occupy the Satpuras. Regular troops were despatched to oppose them, and Outram's knowledge of the country was thought likely to be of use. The Kolis, however, did not dare to oppose the troops, and the gang melted away. In September 1829 the important fortress of Sindva, commanding the north approach to Khandesh through the Satpuras, was occupied by the Bhil Corps, the regular garrison returning to Headquarters.

In October, Outram went to Bombay on short leave, and Lieutenant Graham officiated as Commandant. He was forthwith required to proceed to the N. E. Satpuras, to exterminate a gang of Nahal Bhils. It is unfortunately only too well known that the occasion for Outram's leave was the sudden death of his only brother.

Outram returned to duty in January 1830, having been delayed in Ahmednagar on his way from Bombay by an accident. In the same spring he was required to proceed to the west of the province and assist the troops in the quelling of a rising. Matters were so serious, that every available man was called up, the detachments under Major Ovans being reduced as far as possible and the men sent to the scene of operations. Unfortunately the record is wanting in details of the campaign, but a minute has been preserved in the Political Department which though written in abbreviated style, sufficiently expreses the magnitude and difficulty of the operations.

It need only be remarked here that the Daug country is so difficult, that its settlement by Government has only recently taken place. For almost 70 years it was left for the most part severely alone, unless the chiefs' conduct became intolerable, when they were repressed by force.

18th May 1829. Acting Collector reports that the village of Nagjira Nawapoor Purganah had been attacked by the Bheels of the Dhaung, also the village of Chorwar in the Warsa Purganah—little or no loss sustained by the inhabitants of the former village but those of the latter completely plundered, a horseman wounded at the latter. Reported to have been perpetrated by the gangs of Budria and Davising Rajahs to the number of 150 or 200 men. Reports having sent detachments of 40 Horsemen and 50 Regulars under a European officer for the protection of the country.

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Acting Collector forwards translations of reports concerning the above and reports that he has deputed the Second Assistant with the troops sent to Pimpulnere; forwards copy of instructions to the Assistant.

21st August 1829.

Acting Collector forwards copy of correspondence with the Political Agent of Guickwar territories concerning settlement of disputes between the Wussawas of Gungthy and Sakbaree.

29th August 1829.

Acting Collector forwards letter enclosure from Mr. Steven, 2nd Assistant Collector, dated 15th instant, reporting proceedings in consequence of instructions, copy of which was forwarded on the 21st August. Regrets that for security of our frontier extraordinary precautions must be adopted until the season will admit of operations against the Dhaug chiefs. Details negociation with the chiefs, unsuccessful, though pardon was offered if the plundered property should be restored; to this he was induced by the conviction that coercive measures against the Bheel chiefs were too inconvenient at any season to warrant their being recommended but on grounds of absolute necessity; considers the partial restoration of the plundered property inadequate atonement for the unprovoked outrages of the Dhaung Rajahs; and the tranquility of the country bordering on the Dhaungs can never be secured until those chiefs are humbled to submission by punishment.

19th September 1829.

Davising, formerly reported was not the aggressor on the late occasion. His apprehension or that of any of his followers, should not be the object of ulterior operations so much as the capture of the Silput Rajah, whose conduct has been in the highest degree reprehensible and whose notoriously violent and treacherous disposition renders it impossible that the tranquility of the country can be secured as long as he continues at large. No attempt to enter the Dhaung can be made without eminent hazard to the health of the men, until the end of March; but recommends the expediency of authorising at that period, recourse to military operations on a scale sufficient to ensure the subjection of the followers or supporters of the Silput Rajah and capture of his

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person, recommends the repair of the Gurree of Warsa to be maintained by a Detachment for protection of that neighbourhood. In addition to the 50 men of the Line which had been formerly sent had made a requisition for a company from Malligaon to protect the frontier until the season for operations, etc.

30th October, 1829. Acting Collector forwards copy of a letter from Major Ovans requiring the re-establishment of the Nizam's Military Posts along the Adjunta Range of hills essential to the tranquility of the country, which might be endangered by the failure of the crops, and the recent removal of the Civil Superintendent, and remarks as follows : " In the annual Police reports of all my predecessors since the Bheel Corps and Bheel Agency have been established, the measures and conduct of the officers at the heads of their establishments have been justly the theme of admiration and panegyric. I consider it necessary, however, to do more on the present occasion than briefly advert to the subject ; as the utility of their establishments has been fully proved and the ardent and benevolent exertions of Major Ovans and meritorious conduct of Lieutenant Outram, have been too frequently brought to the notice of the Honourable the Governor in Council, to render an encomium from me requisite to establish the character of those officers. I may, however, be permitted to add that resulting from Major Ovan's vigilant superintendence the quarter under his immediate control is distinguished by its freedom from crime and that the conduct of the men and officers of the Bheel Corps during the past year has, in all respects, tended to confirm the high character given of them by Mr. Giberne in his last year's report."

9th January, 1830. The Acting Collector forwards copy of letter from Major Ovans and enclosure—concurs in that officer's opinion of the ill consequent likely to accrue from the abolition of the office of Bheel Agent in the Nizam's country, and hopes Government will be induced to press on the consideration of the Resident of Hyderabad, the expediency of restoring that office.

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Acting Collector forwards translation of letter from the Daishmuk of Soorunganah reporting capture and death of Sukia naique of the Dhaung, for whose apprehension a reward had been offered of 1000 Rupees, recommends the officer commanding Bheel corps to proceed with all the available men of his corps and auxiliary Horse to the frontier to communicate with Duttoo Chimnajee and concert the measures to be adopted for proceeding against the Silput Rajah. The means to be placed at the disposal of Lieutenant Outram for the capture of Silput Rajah cannot be ascertained till Lieutenant Outram is on the spot, where information of the Rajah's situation and power can be obtained. Early measures to be adopted.

28th February, 1830.

Acting Collector transmits copy of his instructions to the officer commanding Bheel corps relative to operations against the Silput Rajah.

25th March, 1830.

The Collector (Mr. Boyd), forwards copies of despatches from Lieutenant Outram, commanding Detachment in the Dhaung, suggests, that means may be resorted to, to induce the Baroda Durbar to cause their officers in that neighbourhood to withhold their assistance, etc., from a proclaimed enemy of the British Government; the operations in the Dhaung much impeded by the vexatious and culpable assistance offered to the Silput Rajah by the Guikwar's Tannahs, etc. The Rainy and unhealthy season commencing must soon oblige our troops to vacate the Dhaung, when the Silput Rajah encouraged by the countenance of the Guikwar's officers will be induced to venture on future campaigns.

6th May, 1830.

In case of Lieutenant Outram not succeeding in capturing the Silput Rajah, there is necessity to provide for the tranquillity of the country, proposes meeting Lieutenant Outram on his return, and requires authority to adopt at once such measures as he may find necessary to secure the co-operation of such chiefs, as that officer has conciliated, for the preservation of the peace of the country; unfortunate that the Khem Rajah has been found equally culpable with his nephew the Silput Rajah, as it was the Collector's intention to have recommended his succession on giving satisfaction

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as to his good intentions for the future. As all the family of the Silput Rajah are equally culpable, sees no obstacle to nominate a person unconnected with it for managing the country.

The Silput Rajah's consequence and authority described as destroyed for ever. His fastnesses hitherto considered impregnable have been penetrated, etc. His uncle and relations prisoners, himself hunted from haunt to haunt, almost hopeless of escape. Many of his brother chiefs have been induced to desert him and join our cause thro' the well managed measures of Lieutenant Outram to whom every credit is due, etc., etc.

Enclosure proving treachery of the Guikwar's Agents.

14th May, forwarding copies of Despatches from Lieut. Outram.

Collector forwards copies of Despatches from Lieutenant Outram shewing that altho' the Silput Rajah has individually eluded us, yet the other and greater advantages of destroying the confidence of those lawless chiefs and apprehending the greater number of those who joined the Silput Rajah or inducing them to act against him have been gained. No doubt the Khem Rajah, a prisoner, uncle of the Silput Rajah, has been as culpable as his nephew.

These points gained, does not consider the Silput Rajah, even if not seized in this campaign likely himself or to influence others to attempt further delinquencies, understands that he has taken refuge with a Mowass Chief of Rajpeepla; under these circumstances has directed the withdrawing of the troops under Lieutenant Outram, which could not be delayed on account of the incessant rain they have been exposed to, considerable sickness had already commenced.

24th May, 1830.

The Collector forwards despatches from Lieutenant Outram, regrets to say that he was attacked by fever, when on the way to meet the Dhaung Chiefs with Lieutenant Outram, and obliged to proceed to Dhoolia.

Vide Mr. Boyd's letter, dated 24th May 1830.

"The Silput Rajah's apprehension is a most fortunate conclusion to the Expedition in the Dhaung and it is to be entirely attributed to the persevering exertions made to the very last by Lieutenant Outram to

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whom too much credit cannot be paid for the manner in which he has conducted the business throughout."

24th June, 1830 forwarding despatches from Lieut. Outram.

Forwards despatch from Lieutenant Outram and documents connected, etc. Much useful information and judicious remarks are contained in this despatch dated 2nd Instant. Every arrangement effected by that officer has been conducted in the most able manner. Recommends measures for the disposal of the prisoners—Silput and Khem Rajahs should be made a severe example to protect the country from the Silput Rajah's revenge (as he is notorious for a vindictive bloodthirsty disposition) on those who have assisted us; the Khem Rajah equally obnoxious to punishment, letters of the chiefs and other reasons sufficiently prove the danger of releasing either. States that they must be considered State prisoners, proposes confining them in the Asseer, Nugger and Tannah Forts, for at least several years, or till they are able to secure the unanimous security and consent of the other chiefs. Proposes mode of settling the Silput Rajah's Territory and of placing the Dhaung chiefs directly under the orders and superintendence of the Honourable Company's Government. They should be disconnected from the Guikwar's for reasons shown. Proposes that the affairs of the Dhaung with all the Bheel and Mawass Chiefs, subject to our rule along the range of Ghauts and confines of Rajpeeplah, from Kowra, to the Nerbudda, comprising territories of above 20 chiefs, extending upwards of 70 miles, be committed to the charge of an intelligent officer as Bheel Agent.

Vide Mr. Boyd's letters, dated 9th June 1830 forwarding Despatches from Lieutenant Outram.

"Lieutenant Outram arranged before leaving the Dhaung for the management of Silput Rajah's tract of Country. The family Karbaree or manager has been for this purpose nominally associated with the Silput and the Khem Rajahs' sons, who are however very young. They have promised to conduct themselves properly (and indeed they are not in a situation to do otherwise) and the other chiefs have engaged not to molest them.

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"I should not be doing justice to the merits of a most valuable officer did I omit pointing out to the Honourable the Governor in Council the most useful and zealous exertions of Lieutenant D. C. Graham, adjutant of the Bheel Corps. This officer in addition to the harassing forced marches, sometimes exceeding 70 miles, (which he was in his military capacity obliged to perform) was sedulously engaged in executing a map of the entire tract called the Dhaung, which he has completed in a most masterly manner. Lieutenant Graham in addition to a thorough knowledge of surveying, which he acquired in Europe under a scientific officer, combines a knowledge of the natives and the language, which with his superior talents render him peculiarly adapted for the successful discharge of any duty he may be entrusted with.

I have presented the naique and 6 Bheel sepoys alluded to in Para. 15 of Lieutenant Outram's letter a turban each, in token of the approbation of Government for their gallantry in entering a tannah containing three times the number of their own well armed men and making the whole prisoners."

In June 1830 Lt. Thomas Frazer "of the European Regiment, at present doing duty with the 18th Regiment at Asirgadh," was gazetted to officiate as Adjutant of the Bhil Corps during the absence of Lt. Graham on sick certificate.

About this time a school was established for the Bhil Corps. It attracted some attention at the time, but was not a permanent success. Even to this day a literate Bhil is regarded as a kind of freak.

In 1831 the Tadvi or Mussulman Bhils of the N. E. of the Province, aided by a number of Pardhis, began to attack the towns below the hills in force. Outram soon heard of this, and in a demi-official letter begged the Collector to allow him to attack them at once in their strongholds. The Collector however said that he would not consent, for the Rains were beginning, and troops could not live in the hills. He advised Outram to proceed to the villages and towns which had been looted, and to endeavour to catch the offenders in the plains, or at any rate to stand fast until the season became more favourable. Outram toured with a detachment of 25

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men from his corps, and the result is succinctly described by the Collector as follows:—

April, May, and June 1831.

"During the hot season of this year most alarming atrocities were committed by the Bheels and Pardies in the north-eastern districts. In July I deputed the Bheel Agent (Lieutenant Outram) to exert his endeavours to suppress the gangs, etc.

"Lieutenant Outram proceeded with a small detachment of the Bheel Corps (25) and with their sole assistance, together with the few district Police and Horse, in the course of one month ascertained, apprehended, and guarded those concerned to the number of 469 men, generally desperate characters, Turvee Bheels and Pardees, selected 158 of the most guilty for punishment, committed them for trial for 30 gang robberies, with such full and clear evidence that all but eight were convicted and sentenced.

Further report runs as follows :—

"I have the honour to hand up for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, a report from Lieutenant Outram, Bhil Agent and Assistant Magistrate.

"I found, from the unusual number of gang robberies which were occurring in the north-eastern districts of the province, that the district Police was unable to suppress the evil or even to discover, with any degree of certainty, who the offenders were, and, as the impunity with which several very daring attacks on large towns were attended, was certain to excite further attempts, I judged it requisite to depute the Bheel Agent to the duty, whose well-known activity and intimate acquaintance with all the tribes on the hills rendered his services on the spot of peculiar efficiency.

"Lieutenant Outram's report details sufficiently the very complete and satisfactory success of his measures, which were taken with great judgement, and have been executed with singular promptitude and decision.

"The fortunate termination of this rising, the progress of which, I confess, I watched with some anxiety, will, I trust, prove the last symptoms of an inclination on the part of our Bheels to break out, but they were not the first to commence the depre-

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dations and when foreign banditti were entering our boundaries and robbing with impunity it is perhaps too much to expect these Bheels to remain honest, and I had no means to prevent effectually the irruptions of foreigners for reasons stated in my letters under date 12th March and 22nd April last.

"If the numerous gangs now apprehended and dispersed, had succeeded in baffling Lieutenant Outram's exertions, they would no doubt have collected in the Sathpuras and have been certainly joined by more discontented persons from the Dhaung, Nemaur, etc., than even with considerable military assistance in such a strong country we would have found it easy to subdue.

"I perfectly coincide with Lieutenant Outram in the necessity of punishing the Naiks who have so long been paid by the British Government on condition of performing certain service and keeping a fixed number of followers. I shall, therefore, with the sanction of Government, remove all those who have failed in their duty and select others from the same families to fill the situations.

"I beg to be favoured with the sanction of Government for distributing the rewards recommended by Lieutenant Outram, which appear to me to be particularly well merited, and likely to do much good, also for withdrawing the offer of reward for the apprehension of Lallia Naik and some Nehal Bheels as recommended in para. 12.

"The conclusion of this service without expense or risk of any kind, would, if it were requisite, at this period, prove the necessity of a personal superintendence by a European Officer being exercised over these tribes, and I am convinced that it is entirely owing to the Bheel Agent's very accurate knowledge of the country and the character of the clans with whom he has had to deal throughout that the north and eastern frontiers are not now suffering from a general and organized gang."

"The command of the Bheel corps being attached to Lieutenant Outram's situation of the Bheel Agent for the north-eastern frontier districts, gives him great weight personally with all the Bheel clans, from all of which he has taken special care

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to enlist members into this corps, so that his influence with the chiefs throughout Candeish is daily increasing, and a Bheel offending, being a native of Candeish is, I may say (if he remains in the province) certain of being seized."

The year 1832 was not marked by any important rising. There is much correspondence during the year concerning an unfortunate quarrel between some of the Bhil Corps at Dhulia and some men of the 18th Regiment. The quarrel was made to appear more serious by the subsequent panic which took place in the bazar. Apparently the soldiers carried their disputes into the market, and the merchants seeing them fighting closed their shops. Everyone fled in fright, but it appears that little damage was done. Matters, however, looked so serious that Outram was advised of the occurrence. He rode in at once the whole 40 miles from Dharangaon, held a summary enquiry and punished such of his men as were at fault on the spot; moreover, he drew up his detachment in the presence of the Regulars and their officers, and gave them a severe lecture on their proper behaviour. This done, he returned to Dharangaon. The Dhulia officers, however, were not content. They held a protracted enquiry, which produced much hard swearing, magnified an insignificant squabble beyond its merits, and unjustifiably held up the Bhil Corps to reproach. Outram then defended his men as a tigress might her cubs, for he never countenanced injustice or unfairness. As a matter of fact, there was little or no result, the affair being treated at headquarters, very justly, as a mere trifle.

In the spring of 1833 a serious outbreak began in the Satpuras bordering on the Badvani State. Outram describes the state of affairs in a demi-official letter as follows:—

My Dear Boyd,

We find the whole of this Talooka in the greatest alarm in consequence of the escapes of these Burwany gangs, whose example has been followed by some of the Hill Bheels, belonging to us, two gangs of whom are out. I have sent to get information concerning the latter, whom I must endeavour, immediately, to disperse, otherwise numbers of the Bheels of the plains will rise. No additional excesses have been perpetrated since I wrote two days ago, but the country is in such alarm that the villages will all be deserted if I do not

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effect something against the plunderers before I leave. They have been kept together merely in this expectation. If, therefore, you cannot sanction the assembly of the necessary detachment so late in the season to enable me to proceed against the Burwany Bheels I will content myself with making a tour against the gangs which are in the hills in this immediate neighbourhood, for which purpose I shall assemble the Shadah detachment of the Bheel Corps (24 men) and 20 horsemen.

My plan is to join Goorkie Naique of Torun Mahal and Dewajie Naique of Chickly who will muster 150 Bheels in the hills, where I will meet them in secret and go with them to cut off the gang from Hutnia's haunts, whilst on the same night the detachment of the Bheel Corps and Horse will march into the hills against them. They (the enemy) will gladly entice our detachment as far as they can (expecting to deal with them as they did with Watkins,) till they find themselves suddenly attacked from the rear by my party of allies, when I hope we shall do them some damage, and at all events this will have the effect of dispersing them and preventing the Plain Bheels from rising. Your plan of offering a reward for Hutnia ought, at any rate, I think, to be *immediately* carried into effect. Also for Patnia his brother (Burwany Naiques) this should be of a *large* amount; also for Selia and Essnia Naiques who are at the head of gangs of our Bheels (by our Bheels I mean those of the portion of the Satpoorahs belonging to Candeish). Essnia is a notoriously turbulent character who has taken advantage of every opportunity to raise the Bheels during the last 15 years, he was Subanniah's Carbarry at the time of the fight. There is another principal Naique of Burwany, whose name I forget, but the persons to be *immediately* proscribed, rewards for whom of as large an amount as you possibly can propose to Government to be *immediately* proclaimed, are Hutnia and Essnia, perhaps rather more for the former than for the latter; the late murders can be proved against both.

My carkoon has not come up yet, so I can't give you the names of their places, but if you would send me the proclamations

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I can fill them up ; it would be a great point to do it at once. Can you not anticipate the sanction of Government? They will soon be betrayed and their seizure effected, that of the others who are most to blame will soon follow, whilst all will disperse and Government will be saved the expense of rather extensive military operations, which otherwise will be absolutely indispensable after the Rains. Should you send the detachments I wrote for I may probably effect a good deal before the Rains, but this of course is uncertain and I fear the enemy will fly across the Nerbuddah. At any rate I should do more than I can with only 24 Bheels.

I have received good information that Hutnia had an interview with the Burwany Rajah a few days ago and the understanding between them is too fully shown by other circumstances which I shall afterwards bring to notice. So I think his rights in Candeish should be discontinued for the present. I suspect that matters will come out which oblige us to proceed against the Rajah himself.

If I do not succeed in surprizing Essnia's gang (which is the one I intend proceeding against) I propose arresting two or three naiques of the plains who are in close communication with him and who are only awaiting our departure to rise, and I shall take what other steps I can to secure tranquillity till after the Rains, but I must draw the Sindwah detachment here where a whole pergannah suffers whilst there only travellers do, for I cannot guard both, and this is a healthier station than Sindwah for them.

I suspect I shall be detained here a long time. May I hold out the prospect of rewards for Hutnia and Essnia ?

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

20th April 1833.

He duly proceeded against the enemy, and again reports thus,

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to report that one of the principal objects of my expedition has already been effected by the capture of Easnia Naique, who was betrayed into our hands by one of

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his gang on the sole condition of his (the betrayer's) own pardon.

This Essnia was the key to Candeish and of the Burwanee Bheels and his seizure will doubtless cause the dispersion of his gang which was composed of some determined characters who must fall into my hands when required, and the tranquillity of our north-western districts is thus in a great measure secured even should my operations against the Burwance gangs be less successful than I expect.

I did not find it necessary to offer the reward of 500 Rupees which you had authorized for the capture of this Naique, but I would recommend a gratuity of 50 Rupees to Luxumun Naique of Urty through whom it has been effected.

I have this morning been joined by a detachment of 50 men of the 18th Regiment N. I. under Lieutenant Partridge and 25 Auxiliary Horse. To-morrow I propose proceeding to a spot called Moongwarra, where I have appointed a rendezvous with the Burwanee Rajah, to escort whom I have directed a detachment of 50 men of the Bheel Corps and 30 Horsemen to proceed from Sindwah to Burwanee.

The Malligaum Detachment under Ensign Renny, Regiment N. I., has been directed to join us at Moongwarra *via* Sooltanpoor.

Shortly afterwards, the capture of the rebel leader Hatnya Naik, is reported to the O. C. Malegaon.

To

THE MAJOR OF BRIGADE,

MALLEGAON.

SIR,

I have the honour to report for the information of Colonel Kinnersley, commanding in Khandesh, that Hutnia Naique was captured by my detachment yesterday.

The detachment having marched 24 miles during the night we came upon his huttee at daybreak but found it deserted and the signals he had among the surrounding hills shewed that the enemy were on the alert. Hutnia being observed ascending a hill with two or three followers the Horse under Lieut-

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enant Hart charged up, and intercepting his retreat to his gang eventually captured him.

Lieutenant Partridge, Ensign Morris, and Ensign Kenny ascended the hills with their detachments pursuing parties of the enemy who had dispersed after the loss of their chief. A small body of them stood a few minutes and fired many arrows but took to flight on seeing the Horse ascending to turn them. Two or three are supposed to have been wounded, one horse on our side was wounded slightly.

Lieutenant Partridge succeeded in recovering 170 head of the cattle which Hutnia had driven from Candeish.

I purpose continuing the pursuit of this gang should it reunite and afterwards proceeding against that of a chief called Dowlea, who is plundering in the neighbourhood of Sindwah.

Outram proceeded as far as the Narbada with his troops. He overawed the Raja of Badvani into semblance of loyalty, dispersed the various gangs, and finally returned to Sindva Fort. Thence he sent a demi-official letter to the Collector, which is too characteristic to be omitted.

Sindwah, 25th May 1833.

My Dear Boyd,

In making arrangements for the better security of this road, I thought it advisable to require the garrison of Sindwah to relieve the posts on the road which are connected with it, and which most unaccountably has not been done hitherto (the consequence of which is that 35 sebundies have sat in the fort doing nothing but defending the gate and four empty walls, whilst 30 others have had to occupy two exposed posts—worked off their legs and put to great expense for ammunition and two of them killed, etc., etc.,) This measure would render the whole more efficient, divide the duty, and frequent changing would render them less subject to sickness. Having given the order I was surprised to find that the Sindwah peons refused to go! So I had them up this morning (and as it was necessary to make an immediate example, I took upon myself to tell them that all who refused would be immediately discharged. They then came round and have condescended to obey orders but as they ought not *so to do* with *impunity*, I have selected the

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Naique *Govind Khan* and Annoor Khan, a sepoy (who was the most forward in the mutiny) who, I have informed them, are discharged from this day, and I have directed their being turned out of the Fort, which I hope you will confirm, as also the promotion of a sepoy, named *Samboo* (who behaved well on this and other occasions) to Naique.

I suspect we shall be obliged to suspend the Killadar, who is an old drunkard and whom I got Giberne to appoint.

The whole of the men on the Tannah here complain much of the hardship of not being relieved and are most willing to sacrifice the extra rupee to get to Candeish. Could you not relieve them annually from the Mahals! The extra rupee would be batta to those who came on this duty.

There are at present upwards of (60) *sixty* men so employed, 35 would be quite enough in future, 15 at the Fort and 10 at each of the Tannahs.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

P.S.—I have just got Government's letter about the *50 Rs. reward*! Of *course* "Luxuman of Urty" is not the *betrayer* but one of our most zealous allies—the betrayer (*Chulia*) got little better than *kicks* and was told that though he got cowl for himself, his brothers were *still* proscribed and would only obtain pardon on performing certain services, which as they have failed to do they have not earned.

(Signed) J. O.

Outram now signs himself Captain for the first time. Slowness of communication seems to have made the knowledge of actual dates of promotion in military rank very vague in those days. Long before this Outram had often been officially referred to as Captain, yet in the Government replies to his despatches above quoted he is again styled Lieutenant.

In 1834 there seems to have been little activity among the Bhils. A gang collected in the north-east Satpuras and looted a few villages, but was apparently dispersed without difficulty.

During 1835 it was decided to replace the detachments of Regulars at Dahivel and Kukarumunda in the west of the province, by men from the Bhil Corps. For this purpose, as the corps had already

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440 men out of 600 on outpost duty, it became neceesary to increase the total strength. This was done, and the corps was ordered to be divided into 9 Companies, each of the total strength of about 95 Officers, N. C. O.'s and men. Outram represented that another European Officer was absolutely necessary to supervise so large a body of men scattered over so extensive a district. Accordingly Lieutenant Graham was appointed 2nd in command, with magisterial powers, and Lieutenant Morris was appointed Adjutant. In this condition Outram left the corps, for late in the same year he was promoted to be Political Agent in Gujarath. Lieutenant Graham succeeded to the command, and Lieutenant Brown, of Outram's old regiment, was appointed 2nd in command.

The first Commandant had not, however, quite done with the corps. On his arrival in Gujarath he speedily asked for the loan of a party of 50 men from its ranks, to assist in operations in the field, and to show by its presence and good behaviour the possibility of raising a similar corps in Gujarath. It is gratifying to note that the men did not falsify his trust in them. When returning them to Dharangaon he thus writes in praise of their services,

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To

CAPTAIN GRAHAM,

COMMANDING BHEEL CORPS.

SIR,

I have the honour to notify to you that the detachment of the Bheel Corps now with me will march to-morrow on its return to Candeish under the charge of Lieutenant Christie of the 21st Regiment N. I.

I cannot allow the detachment to leave without expressing the warmest approbation of its conduct during the time it has been employed in the Mhyeekaunta, which in every respect, whether as regards orderly behaviour in camp or activity and zeal in the field, has been such as to entitle it to the favourable notice of Government, with which I trust the detachment will be publicly honoured.

Enclosed is an acquittance roll of the detachment for March, and I have delivered the abstracts for April to Lieutenant Christie, who will procure this pay at Baroda, also the copy of a letter from Government dated 7th April 1836.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed), J. OUTRAM,
P. Agent.

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CHAPTER VIII.

OUTRAM'S WORK IN KHANDESH AND ITS EFFECTS.

STRANGELY enough, just before Outram left Khandesh, a demand came from the Court of Directors for a report on the Bhil Corps, its organization, its constitution, and its effect on the country. This is Outram's report :—

To

W. S. BOYD, Esq.,
COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE.

SIR,

1 have the honour, briefly, to sketch the origin, purpose, and formation of the Bheel Corps as requested in your letter dated 3rd instant.

2 Candeish when taken possession of by our Government in 1818, and for many years previously, was a prey to the devastating aggressions of its Bheel inhabitants (calculated at one 8th of the whole population) as well as to the inroads of the Bheel clans occupying the wild jungles and fastnesses bounding the province.

3 To subjugate this race every effort of coercion and conciliation was made, large bodies of our troops were constantly out against them, to no purpose, and the endeavours of our Political Agents to bind them to peace by liberally pensioning their chiefs and providing for the support of their followers by a tax on the rest of the population were equally unavailing. At the close of the year 1824 the Bheels continued as far from subdued and as destructive as at the time of our taking possession of the country.

4 Mr. Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay, finding all exertions to the above end perfectly fruitless, insisted on an attempt to bring to the aid of Government a portion

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of the Bheel tribes towards subjugating the rest, by embodying a corps from among themselves. This measure he had frequently previously proposed but had hitherto been overruled by the opinion of the local authorities that it was utterly impracticable.

5 In April 1825 the undertaking was commenced but the obstacles to be overcome were great, and the Bheel Corps was not completed till the end of 1827. When it was reported, by the Brigadier deputed to inspect it, in a highly efficient state of discipline, and its commanding officer having pledged himself to the fidelity of this corps, it was immediately entrusted with many posts hitherto occupied by the regular troops, and soon gave every proof of its efficiency and good faith by attacking the insurgent Bheels in every quarter, and never failing in immediately subduing and bringing to justice all who opposed the laws. The Bheel population of the province has ever since been kept in perfect subjection and is gradually assimilating, from want of opportunity to pursue their former lawless lives, to the peaceable peasantry of the country. The wild jungles and mountainous tracts surrounding Candeish which had hitherto been inaccessible to regular troops have been penetrated by the Bheel Corps, and every class, without exception, which used to prey on our borders with impunity, has been subdued and kept under by this corps.

The Regular Army has long been relieved by the Bheel corps from the numerous detachments required for preserving the peace of this province and protecting it from foreign aggression, with the exception of two strong posts on its western frontier, which are maintained to overawe foreign enemies. These also are now to be relieved by this corps.

7 The Bheel Corps is raised entirely from among the Bheel clans of this province and the jungly tracts surrounding Candeish, with the exception of a draft from the Line of 50 high-caste men, (of all ranks, who are permanently attached to the corps with the pay and privileges of the Line). The Bheels are enlisted to serve during pleasure, and are not subject to martial law, all offences being punished by the

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commanding officer in his magisterial capacity. The rate of their pay is to a Private 5, Naique 6, and Havildar 8 rupees per mensem, with one rupee batta to each of the above rank when detached. The Bheel Native Officers are Jemadars at 15 rupees and Subidars at 30 per mensem with batta in proportion; no stoppages are made from them and clothing is supplied by Government.

8 The Bheel Corps has been disciplined as Light Infantry, its duties are preserving the peace of the province by detached posts at all the wilder or more exposed parts, furnishing escorts to treasure, prisoners, etc., guarding several of the district treasuries, and acting in every way as police. The portion of the corps detached on these duties averages upwards of three-fourths.

9 As a first experiment the corps was limited to 400 rank and file; when found worthy of being entrusted with more important duties than was at first contemplated, it was increased to 600, and the order has just been received to extend it to 790 rank and file of Bheels exclusive of the detachment of Regulars.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. OUTRAM, CAPT.
Comdg. Bheel Corps.

Durrungaum, 9th June 1835.

It is almost sacrilegious to criticise Outram. Were it not so the report might be styled bald. The reason of its baldness is that the writer, had he ventured to embellish it, or to supply graphic details, could not but have filled it with praise of himself. It is difficult at this distance of time to realize the enormous difference in the government of the Bombay Presidency which was effected by this veteran of 22 years of age. When he began work, the province and its surroundings were a hopeless chaos. It was a matter of doubt whether its administration would ever pay. Its people were pauperized or had vanished, its villages were jungles, and its towns were refuges for the terrified remnant. True, the Bheels were never likely

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to advance from the conquest of Khandesh to wider fields, to create a fresh Maratha dynasty, or re-establish the Peshva. This is perfectly evident now, but in 1825 they were rightly considered a real source of danger. The experiment on which Mountstuart Elphinstone insisted was considered by those who knew foredoomed to failure. That it was a brilliant success, that the province began to flourish, and is now the best asset of the Bombay Government, that the whole presidency followed its example in reducing wild tribes to order, and that a system of local corps was founded, some of which are doing good work to this day, is due under God to Outram.

In 1833 a Commissioner was sent round by the Sadar Fauzdari Adalat (now the High Court) to report on the state of the country. Of the part of his report bearing on Khandesh and its surroundings Outram procured a copy, now in his family records. That copy with Outram's* notes, made in 1835, is here reproduced.

*N.B.—The notes are in Outram's writing.

(*Extract from Magisterial Report on Candeish District, 28th January* 1834.)

80 In consequence of my visit to this province it has been an object of anxiety with me to obtain some view of the state of the police within its limits. In so extensive a tract of country (taking its length, about 170 miles, and its breadth, above 100) surrounded nearly by mountains and jungle, the Bheel population of which have from time immemorial been lawless plunderers, it is perhaps surprising that the Kalendars do not exhibit more offences of highway and gang robbery and other heinous crimes.

81 To aid the Magistrate in his political duties there exists the Bheel Corps, with two European Officers, and a number of armed horse. These have under their charge the whole Sathpoora Range, the borders of the Dang Country, lying westward, and are besides in minute details all over the province. A Bheel Agent on the skirts of the Adjuntah Range to the southward looks after that quarter, which, now, where so much success has attended the attempt to draw its Bheel population to agricultural pursuits, is an object of less anxiety; but it will still require constant care and supervision until the older portion of the inhabi-

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tants shall have disappeared, and their children, who know no other pursuits but those of agriculture, will possess no previous deep-rooted predatory habits, into which they might be in constant danger of relapsing.

82 It is observable that in the border tracts where predatory crimes are committed, or from which the perpetrators made their incursions to commit them, they are chiefly planned and executed by people from beyond our limits, and generally owing allegiance, nominal or real, to other authorities.

83 From the country called the Dhang, in consequence of Captain Outram's former spirited and successful pursuit of the plunderers of that jungly, deadly, and nearly impenetrable tract, it does not appear that any incursions are now made into Candeish. His late arduous and equally successful pursuit of the Bheel plunderers from the north-west, and capture of one leader of notoriety in particular will, I hope, be attended with equally happy results. But it appears there is much that requires to be done to secure ourselves from Bheel robbers from that quarter and from the Sathpoora Range generally.

84 The lawless habits of the population of nearly the whole of Rajpeepla are too well known on the borders of Gujerat by the robbers which it sends forth. There is no question, I am informed, that its inhabitants plunder alike in that province and in (Khandesh) Candeish, and if driven from the latter by the constant and active exertions made there to repress them, the robberies in the Surat and Broach districts may be likely to increase instead of diminishing, in spite of our exertions in that zillah, where, there being no description of force resembling that most efficient body of men—the Bheel Corps—nor of Auxiliary Horse—to the speed and well directed exertion of which some of the late important captures are mainly attributable, the borders must consequently become an easy prey to the depredators.

85 The state of things in that direction is certainly exceedingly to be lamented, and exhibited much of suffering where an efficient and powerful administration of Government exists in all other respects; although by a native Govern-

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ment it might be little regarded and be considered an evil from which there was no remedy. This, however, has been dwelt upon by the Suddur Fouzdarre Adawlut in one of its late General Annual Reports, and is without doubt under the mature consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

86 It appears to me, after consulting the magisterial officers in this quarter and adverting to the late reports from the Magistrate of the Zillah of Surat, that unless some measure be taken to organize a Bheel Corps in Gujerat like that which has been so eminently successful in Candeish, aided by a portion of Armed Horse to guard our country there and keep in awe the extensive tract, Rajpeepla—and perhaps the lower parts of the Dhang—things must continue without much improvement.

87 The raising and employing regular troops, except in extraordinary cases, for such duties, has long been objected to both from the frittering away of their discipline when broken up into details, and from the fatal effect of the climate on them; objections which do not equally apply to the Bheel Corps and which is therefore a means at once less expensive and more efficient for the purpose, nor is there any risk for their fidelity, which has often been exemplified, in cases of the most trying nature. They, indeed, have led to execution their own relations and friends, a remarkable trait in the character of this people who in their state of barbarism exhibit many valuable qualities, and this, joined to a consideration of such having been their habits from time immemorial—that they have perhaps been driven originally from the plains by foreign invaders to their present haunts—may induce a leniency in our conduct towards them, and in the punishment of their crimes, where no wanton cruelty or sacrifice of life may attend their acts of plunder.

88 Were our means to prove insufficient for the protection of our territory, it would appear to me to be preferable, as a matter of policy and expediency, to compromise with these people for fancied claims or concessions which may

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have grown into rights thro' the weakness of previous Governments ; and, where such do exist, and are causes of restlessness and of robbery, to concede something in the shape of a subsistence to their leading men, it being remembered that often absolute want may drive them to the commission of acts of rapine ; and that any arrangement which may lead to an alteration from the present to more peaceable habits may be attended with the best results.

89 A case assimilating to this, has, I am informed, been lately brought to the notice of the Magistrate by Captain Outram, and by the Magistrate to Government, from which it appears that altho' there is a strong party of the Collector's armed establishment in the Sindiva Pass, it is quite insufficient for its protection, important as it is as the high travelling road into Malwa and for the purposes of commerce, travellers and traders seeking other routes, less easy, more circuitous, but more safe.

90 The mode which Captain Outram suggests is by placing its protection in the hands of a Bheel bhowbund who have hereditarily held the office of protecting that road—to cover the expense of which without reducing the Collector's establishment (which is much needed in other parts) a small tax might be raised on travellers and traders which there cannot be the smallest doubt they would readily and cheerfully pay for the protection thus afforded, since the expense they must incur in hiring private matchlock men, etc., for their security is often very considerable.

The experiment was tried and has perfectly succeeded. 60 of the Collector's establishment of armed peons were discharged and the same number of Bheels entertained in their place, who have since preserved the whole line of road from Kerroon to Sindwa from the commission of a single robbery, during the year it has been tried. 1st July 1830. J. O.

91 It has been an object with me to ascertain how far in this province the Collector's regular establishment are aided in cases of outrage by the village and district police. I am happy to understand that no reluctance and backwardness is exhibited in that respect and that the hereditary police, who are chiefly composed of the Bheel part of the popula-

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tion (estimated to be about $\frac{1}{8}$th of the whole of the inhabitants of Candeish, which may perhaps be taken only at half a million in the wretched and thinly peopled state it has been in for a long time back) are active and ready to afford assistance and to arm for the public defence.

92 Since writing the above I have been furnished by Captain Outram with a few valuable remarks, in which after adverting to the circumstances attending the formation of the Bheel Corps and the variety of important duties it has to perform, Captain Outram observes, that "although incursions are now greatly checked in Candeish, yet from the weakness of the surrounding independent authorities they will probably take place in less protected quarters, and Broach and Surat, as well as the territories of our allies, will continue to suffer. But the surprising progress which has been made in Candeish, towards a reformation of the Bheels, might be extended to the whole race, were neighbouring States obliged to assist in the object. If" (Captain Outram remarks) "instead of the foreign mercenaries which are supported by them, each State would contribute some portion of the sums now required to maintain these foreign mercenaries towards embodying a few of their unruly Bheel subjects in a corps, centrically situated for their mutual protection, under European Officers selected for the duty, the quiet of their territories would soon be secured and the remainder of their Bheel subjects turned to peaceable habits, to their own advantage, at little or no additional expense, which they have no right to grudge, being for their own and the general good. This we surely have a right to require, being at present put to the trouble and expense of keeping down not only our own Bheels but theirs also.

This has since been carried into effect. Holkar and other chieftains contribute to the support of a Bheel Corps in Malwa, and the Rajlpoot States do so towards the support of a Bheel Corps in Mewar, both of which were raised in consequence of my suggestion and the success of the Candeish Bheel Corps, and both are working well, besides which a Kholee Corps was raised under my auspices in Gujerat, which has proved of great advantage. I have written for memoranda of these corps.

93 "A small corps of Ramosees and Bheels situated at Bunsda or Beara, or in the neighbourhood, would effectually check the wild clans of the Dhang which still plunder in the Surat districts (though they no longer venture into Candeish

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having felt our power—obtained through a similar corps which I have noticed in proof of Candeish having formerly been annually plundered by them) would protect the whole country from Damaun to the Nerbudda.

94 "Instead of the Detachment of Regulars stationed at Rajpeepla I would recommend a Bheel and Cooly Corps, chiefly at the expense of the Guicowar, for the protection of his districts in that neighbourhood and, consequently, of the Broach Purgunnah. The influence of this corps would extend to the Holkar's districts in Nemaur, which country is and ever has been a prey to the feuds of various petty chiefs, as well as to the raids of the Bheels, to repress which the officer commanding this corps might have some political power.

95 "This eastern part of Nemaur (comprising Holkar's districts, the Berwanny territory, and the British possessions round Mundlasir) would be controlled effectually, the peace of the whole of Nemaur secured, and of the Satpoora Mountains (our northern frontier) by a small corps under the Political Agent (Captain Sandys) who agrees with me in this opinion and in the conviction of the general benefit that would attend the measure.

NOTE.—A. D. 1835.—There is at present a district sebundy under that officer called a Bheel Corps but they are employed at their villages. The disciplined corps should be in addition, but would embody some of the members of these families and secure their fidelity as in Candeish.

96 "The Nizam ought to re-establish the situation of Bheel Agent, to preserve a similar control over the Bheels of the southern side of the Sathmalla Range to what is maintained by our Agent on the southern frontier of Candeish.

97 "Should these measures be pursued (Captain Outram concludes) "the Bheel reform would extend over the whole race; our Bheel subjects would be preserved from the continued bad example of those beyond our frontier, which must greatly check the total eradication of their lawless spirit which we are endeavouring to effect; the neighbouring countries would be preserved from the plunderings and murders to which they are now a prey in consequence of

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the unrepressed license of the Bheels; and it would tend also greatly to prevent crimes of other classes; the measure would be one of humanity to all classes of our subjects and allies, tending to strengthen the laws and diminish crime with the reasonable prospect of ultimately perfecting the reform of so larger portion of mankind, who have for ages defied the laws and been the scourge of their fellow-creatures."

Nothing remains to be added as to the political value of Outram's work. In it there was only one mistake, and that mistake was not found out till 1857. A copy of Colonel Robertson's Report of 1825 on the Bhils also exists among the family papers. Amid a mass of detailed information as to the Bhil chiefs of various localities is found a history of Gumanya Naik, hereditary warden of the Sindva Pass. This chieftain early professed obedience to the Company. Subsequently, however, his conduct was found more than doubtful. He plundered rather than protected travellers, and was finally convicted and banished for life. On the margin of the report is the following note in Outram's autograph:—"I reintrusted the son of Gomany (named Kajy Sing) with the charge of the Sindwah Pass and road in 1833 in conjunction with the rawul of Kerroon.—J. O." How this man betrayed the trust 24 years later will be recorded. Meanwhile the solitary mistake is not recorded in order to lessen the value of the general work.

The value of Outram's efforts cannot be disputed. It remains to be seen what were his methods. Briefly, they were these. He was a friend of his men. He lived with them, shared their hardships, defended them against attacks and accusations, sympathized with their joys and sorrows, and gained their entire confidence. He began by soaking them with brandy because they liked it, but he won them over to temperate and orderly habits. It is a saying amongst Bhils that a Bhil will do 40 miles at a run to steal a rupee. Outram would run 50 miles to stop the rupee being stolen. He defeated them in endurance, in woodcraft, and in bravery before wild animals. Nothing appealed to the children of the jungle like his love of sport, and it will be well to finish this prosaic record of deeds done and peace restored, with some anecdotes of his sport.

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It may here be stated that during his 10 years in Khandesh he himself states that he killed 255 tigers, 18 panthers, 42 bears, and 19 bisons.

Captain Stanley Scott gives the following description of a tiger hunt:—

> In the jungle of Saigaum near the Untoor Fort there is a densely wooded ravine named the Mahi Burda. It was reported to Outram that a tiger was in it. He proceeded thither with his rifle on foot. When near the spot indicated it suddenly occurred to him that by commanding the narrow end of the ravine and placing the beaters at the other, the tiger must make his exit through the gorge and he would get the opportunity of a close shot, but to find on the bank a place from which to fire was impossible as the jungle grew close up to the sides and the bottom of the ravine was not visible from the top. Outram's mind was not one to be baffled by tigers. He and some followers having climbed a tree a branch of which overhung the ravine, other Bheels tied their pagris and waistbands together, others passed a band round their Commandant's chest and under his arms and let him down dangling in the air, his foot just resting on a creeper. He could now see clearly all that was taking place beneath. The tiger, driven down by the shouts of the beaters, came within easy range of his rifle, and from his wonderful position, he got the desired shot and killed the animal dead. Instantly drawn up into the tree again he turned round laughingly to the Bheels and said, "You have suspended me like a thief from a tree, but I killed the tiger."

Again, the same writer tells a story which will cause sportsmen of the present day to think:—

> In 1833 in the month of April when encamped at Seerpoor, the villagers gave Outram information of a tiger that had been marked down in the thorny jungle to the north of the village. This tiger was down in the plain, no hill or ravine near, Outram started on foot, spear in hand, a follower carrying a rifle and some six others bows and arrows. The tiger broke ground on their approach and Outram followed him up on foot for 3 miles and eventually speared him to death. This

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act, it is affirmed, has never been equalled before or since in Khandesh.

Outram did not fail also to stick a tiger like a pig from horseback. Captain Stanley Scott writes of this as follows :—

"In the year 1835 the high road leading from Khandesh to Surat was stopped for one month by a "man eater," a tigress who had taken up her quarters in a deserted village, which had become entirely overgrown. This village was close to Veesurwarry in the Nowapur petta. The number of people who had fallen by the cruel talons of this tigress, was estimated at 70. News of this savage beast was given to Outram, when encamped at Pimpalner, some 34 miles away. He moved camp at once to Veesurwarry and sent out his hunters to mark down the tigress. This they were not long in doing as she was and had been only too easily found by all the unhappy people who had passed that way. Outram with 7 or 8 followers proceeded to the spot. As soon as they came within a hundred yards of her she showed herself, roaring fearfully. Outram raised his rifle, fired and wounded her. She turned (man-eaters are proverbially cowardly) and fled in a southernly direction where the country had a more open appearance. Outram, seizing his spear and mounting his horse followed her for a mile or more. When suffering from her wound he gained on her and with one successful stroke thrust her through and through. This tigress had lost her beautiful fury softness and was mangey and bare, solely attributable to her horrible partiality for human flesh."

Another writer vouches for the following touching tale, which shows how Outram was not only chief huntsman of his corps, but also father of his men.

"Khundoo, the naik or commander of this band of trackers was the very 'beau ideal' of a Bheel. Though a little fellow he was a great man with his master, and it was one of the saddest days in Outram's chequered life, when this faithful follower met his death. A man-eating tiger had killed a native, and Khundoo with a few men was hard upon his track. Just previous to this, Khundoo had disappointed his master of a tiger and he laid it so much to heart that he secretly resolved

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never again to send in word unless he had actually seen the beast himself. Following on this resolution in the present instance with nothing in his hand but a slight spear, Khundoo approached the bushes where he believed the tiger to be concealed. In a moment the beast sprang out, Khundoo's spear glanced off his thick head, and in the next instant the tiger's fangs had met in the upper part of the little fellow's chest. The tiger slunk back to cover, where he was surrounded by a portion of the Bheels, the others took up their dying chief and carried him to Outram's tent and laid him at his master's feet. Outram's first impulse was to destroy the savage beast, and vowing he would neither eat nor drink till the tiger had bit the dust he seized his rifle and rushed off. A well-directed shot laid the man-eater low, and when Outram galloped back, he found poor Khundoo's life was ebbing fast. It was a touching spectacle as the brave Outram bent over the dying chief, to catch his last farewell. Khundoo took the hand of his little son and placing it in Outram's bid him supply a father's place to him."

There is an amusing sequel to this tale. The widow of Khandu received a pension from Government, which, when she remarried, was transferred to her small son. He managed to hold on to it until 1855, when the matter was reported. Outram's personal generosity is noteworthy, for the Patilship of a village is no small gift.

SIR,

As requested in your endorsement of the 11th instant on the Maratha Correspondence regarding the Pension of Rupees (4) four drawn monthly from the Erundole Treasury on account of a sepoy of the Bheel Corps Dhondoo Wullud Khundoo, I do myself the honour to state, as fully as the Records of the Bheel Corps enable me, the particulars of the origin of this grant, and to express my opinion that it ought to be withheld for the future.

"2 In the year 1831 a Havildar of the Bheel Corps, named Khundoo, who had been of great use to General (Lieutenant) Outram in his first intercourse with the Bheels, was killed by a tiger and in consideration of the man's past services and the destitute condition of his widow Baina and his

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infant son Dhondoo Lieutenant Outram in a letter dated the 2nd June 1831 to the address of Mr. Collector Boyd, solicited from Government a Pension of Rupees 4 per month for the support of the woman and child.

"3 Government in a letter No. 2142 dated the 24th July 1831 granted the boon from the date of Khundoo's decease, and the pension was drawn from the Erundole Mamletdar's Treasury in the name of the widow Baina up to August 1833, when it appears she remarried and Captain Outram on the 13th August 1833 sent an order to the Erundole Mamletdar to pay the pension from that time to the boy Dhondoo, who has continued to draw it ever since.

"4 I can find no authority for this transfer of pension, and even if such exists it could not have been intended that on Dhondoo attaining manhood he should continue to enjoy the charity of Government.

"5 In August 1841 he was put into the boy ranks of the Bhil Corps on Rs. 2½ per month, when there was no further plea for drawing the pension, but this seems to have escaped notice and the Rs. 4 were remitted monthly on account of Dhondoo to the Government Savings Bank, where a balance of some Rs. 550 or so stands to his credit.

"6 The original Pensioner Baina (Dhondoo's mother) died of cholera about eighteen years ago, a fact which does not appear to have been noticed or reported.

"7 On her remarrying in 1833, the pension might have been stopped, but if the sanction of Government was obtained for transferring it to her son, it ought to have been discontinued when he was taken into the Bheel Corps Ranks in 1841, as it seems absurd that he should be paid Rs. 5 per month as a fighting man and at the same time receive Rs. 4 per month as a Pensioner.

"8 At the time of his father Khundoo's death, Lieutenant(General) Outram and some other gentlemen, with the sanction of Government, purchased the Patelship of the village of Eklugna near Dhurrangaum on behalf of the boy Dhondoo, and from this source he derives a trifling income annually. With all his good fortune, or probably owing to it, he is one of the most unsteady and troublesome men in the corps.

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"9 If when he began to receive Pay in the Bheel Corps on the 1st August 1841 the Four Rupees Pension had been stopped, Government would have been saved up to the 1st instant Rupees 676, and as the sum deposited in Dhondoo's name in the Bombay Savings Bank is less than that sum by upwards of Rs. 100, I can see no objection to the appropriation of the deposit by Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES ROSE, CAPTAIN,

Offg. Commandant, Bheel Corps.

It is necessary to pass on, to say good-bye to Outram and trace the story of his successors. No farewell could be more apt than that written by Lieutenant Graham, his Adjutant and successor in command:—

Extract from the Journal of Colonel Douglas Graham 1st June 1833.

Outram is my immediate commanding officer and the staunchest friend I have, the boldest and best sportsman on this side of India. We have lived together for seven long years now, which is a considerable period for two to exist together in the same house without having had a difference. He is the Commandant, I am his Adjutant ; there are no other officers in the corps. He has saved my life, I have done the like good office to him ; we have fought together, we have fed together, been for months without any but our own sweet society, and to sum up the story I do not think Friendship can go a step further than what exists between us two.

TIGER HUNTING.

Before starting this morning on very certain intelligence, I had been wondering why a certain long spear, one of your real Mahratta lances, with a knob of rusty iron at one end and a bayonet-like bit of steel at the other, was undergoing the process of excessive filing and sharpening, when I recalled to my remembrance some expression of my commandant's that tended to imply a determination of spearing a royal tiger. And as the exploit was said to have been perpetrated on horseback on the Bangalore race course, a sort of bow rose float-

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ing across the misty recollections of the last evening's conversation, of his intention to perform it on foot. Fifty good reasons were produced why the attempt was rash, nay amounted to a sort of indifference to the least chance of existence in the struggle, but no, the word had gone forth and he would court peril to the utmost to redeem the pledge. Fears were laughed at, and dissension entirely set at naught, so we had nothing for it but to see we had French caps in our pockets and proceed anxiously, desirous that no opportunity would occur for our too adventurous friend. There was a fine thick cover down each side of the broad nullah that ran past the tents, and at intervals on either side two or three smaller topes, with abundance of under creepers well known to us as frequented haunts. There were only two elephants out that day, so of course each took his own side. We had beat through the first cover which was on our line and had halted abreast of the second to observe the operations of the other howdah, on the opposite bank, when a startling volley came provokingly across from the very centre of the thicket, and the loud continual bursts of uproarious music fully declared that there was more than one of the right sort on foot. Our position was by no means so commanding as our wishes. We were stuck on a bank which extended half a mile on each side of us, and presented, so far as I could see, a perpendicular fall of 10 or 12 feet, but this was no time to stick at trifles, so we shoved old Hyder at the place, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Mahout who declared the descent impracticable. But making a virtue of necessity, for he saw the butt end of a rifle coming in contact with his sconce, he began to manœuvre his "ankoos" in style. Hyder got down on his belly in the most scientific manner, and stretched his fore legs to their full extent over the side, but finding no bottom and not at all relishing a drop leap, withdrew speedily from this position. Thrice he was brought down, but to no avail. In the third attempt luckily the bank gave way and down we came, elephant, howdah, and all, but landed in safety in the bed of the nullah. The firing still continued in the tope, and on our arrival we found one tiger mortally wounded on the

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ground and two others charging fiercely from below a thicket of creepers. A cast round the wood soon put us in possession of their mark. We had hardly proceeded a hundred yards, when the track went right into a porcupine's earth and I was indulging in the idea of enjoying a novel sort of sport, when I saw my friend's eye turn to the Mahratta spear, with a meaning glance that could not be mistaken, and the condition of my nerves was by no means improved by seeing him alight from the howdah, and on his knees creep a little way into the hole, to look, as he said, for the glittering of the eyes. Having ascertained that there were only two entrances to the den he blocked up one passage with thick bushes, placed the elephant about two yards in front, and my friend took up his station at the very mouth of the remaining hole.

"There he stood, spear in hand, like a gladiator in the arena of a Roman amphitheatre ready for the throwing open of the wild beast's cage. The bushes were set fire to, and the tiger by no means relishing the smoke came puffing and blowing like a porcupine every 5 or 6 seconds, to get a little fresh air, but scenting the elephant, he was always fain to retreat again. This sort of work went on for some time and bush after bush blazed away without producing the desired effect. I could not have stood the suspense when life was at stake. At last there was a low angry growl and a scuffling rustle in the passage. The tiger sprang out and down descended the long lance into his neck, just behind the dexter ear. With one stroke of his powerful paw, he smashed the spear close to the head. There was a pretty business, Mr. Tiger one step below, with the steel sticking in his neck, which by no means improved his temper, had gathered his huge hind quarters below him for a desperate spring, and my friend, armed after the fashion of the South Sea Islanders, standing on a little mound, breathing defiance and brandishing his bamboo on high—, odds by far too overpowering—so to bring things a little more to equality, I threw in a couple of balls from old Hyder, which turned the scale as Brennus' sword did of old. The tiger was luckily stunned and floored by this salute, but shortly recovered and finding too many enemies besetting him

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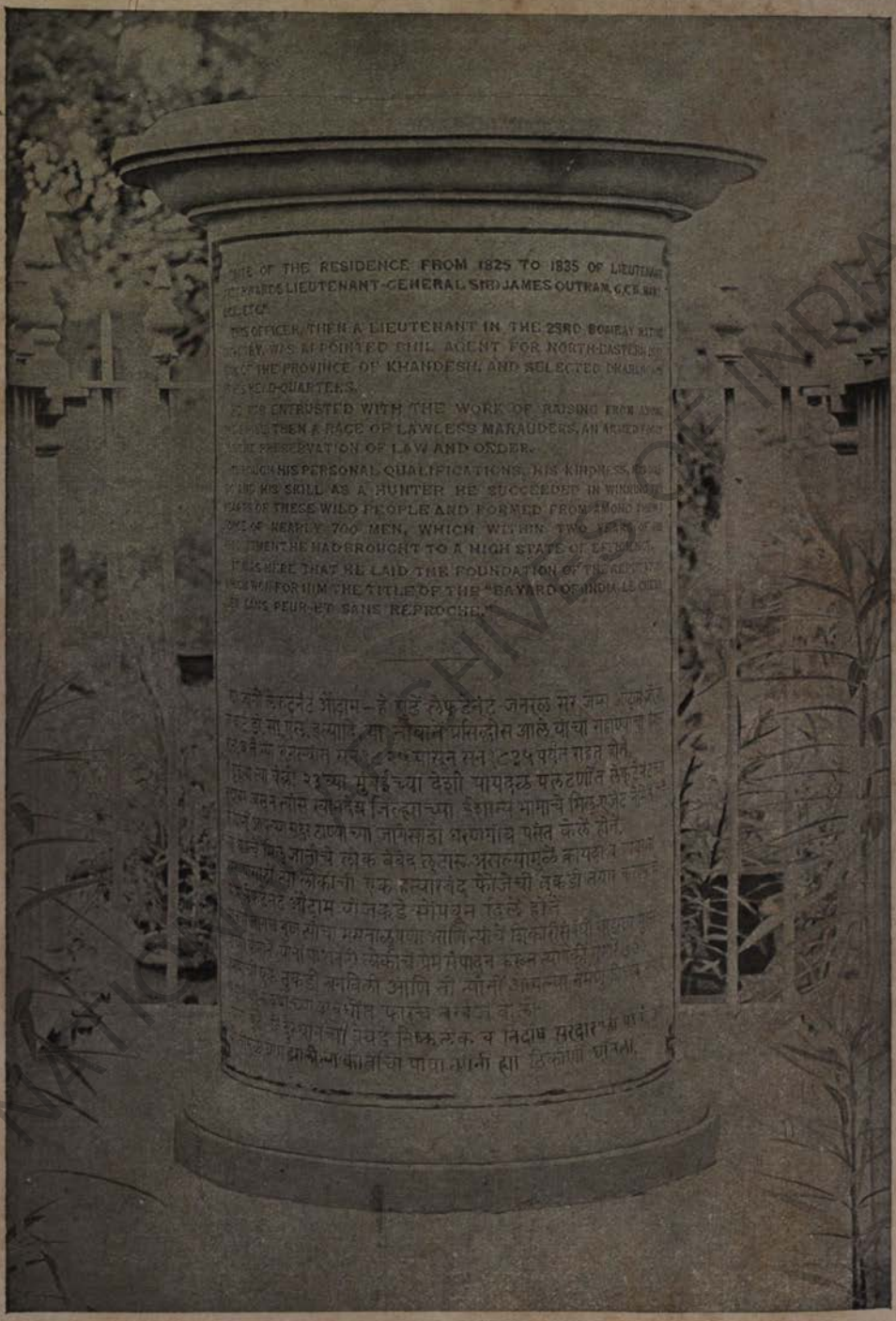
SITE OF THE RESIDENCE FROM 1825 TO 1835 OF LIEUTENANT
AFTERWARDS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B. &c.
&c. &c.
THIS OFFICER, THEN A LIEUTENANT IN THE 23RD BOMBAY NATIVE
INFANTRY, WAS APPOINTED BHIL AGENT FOR NORTH-EASTERN DIS-
TRICT OF THE PROVINCE OF KHANDESH, AND SELECTED DHARANGAON
AS HEAD-QUARTERS.
HE WAS ENTRUSTED WITH THE WORK OF RAISING FROM AMONG
THE BHILS THEN A RACE OF LAWLESS MARAUDERS, AN ARMED FORCE
FOR THE PRESERVATION OF LAW AND ORDER.
THROUGH HIS PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS, HIS KINDNESS, FIRM-
NESS AND HIS SKILL AS A HUNTER HE SUCCEEDED IN WINNING THE
CHIEFS OF THESE WILD PEOPLE AND FORMED FROM AMONG THEM
ONE OF NEARLY 700 MEN, WHICH WITHIN TWO YEARS OF HIS
APPOINTMENT HE HAD BROUGHT TO A HIGH STATE OF EFFICIENCY.
IT WAS HERE THAT HE LAID THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUTATION
WHICH WON FOR HIM THE TITLE OF THE "BAYARD OF INDIA, LE CHE-
VALIER SANS PEUR ET SANS REPROCHE."

MONUMENT TO OUTRAM,
DHARANGAON.

on the open ground, scampered away to the thicket. We found him again below an old bush, and very vicious he was, tearing through the jungle, and charging in mad fury, whenever we came near his entrenchment—three times he was on the elephant roaring and screaming—charge succeeded charge, ball after ball went into his inside, and at length he yielded up the ghost, under the very trunk of the elephant. Had the spear not been directed with the most cool self-possession so as to arrest the progress of the tiger and give me a slight chance of hitting, and had not old Hyder remained perfectly steady, without taking at all into consideration my fluttering nerves and state of anxiety, there would have been an end of one whose like we shall seldom see again.

There is no official record of the building of any residence for Outram or his officers at Dharangaon. Indeed, he at one time sent in an official certificate that none of them occupied Government houses. Most probably the bungalow, recently destroyed, in which Outram lived was constructed out of the old office building in which he lived in 1825. He must have repaired and added to it at his own cost. The site has always been considered Government property, and the proceeds of the materials when it was destroyed, were credited to Government. The peculiar position of the bungalow, inside the town walls, favours the idea of its having once been an office. The site is now marked by a memorial column, and surrounded by a garden.

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CHAPTER IX.

Lieut. GRAHAM, COMMANDANT.

1835-1841.

THE new Commandant had not been without experience of his duties. He had been both Adjutant and 2nd in command of the corps, and as he had officiated as Southern Bhil Agent for some time, he was acquainted with the civilian portion of the programme of conciliation and improvement of the Bhils.

In the first few years of his regime there is but little actual fighting recorded. A large gang of Bhils entered the Savda Satpuras in 1837 and did some damage in the way of looting villages, driving off cattle, and so forth. The Bhil Corps was called out, with a detachment from Asirgadh, but on the appearance of the troops the gang, which had been estimated at 800-900 strong, melted away. There, was, however a continuance of trouble given by small parties of robbers. Though no gangs assembled of sufficient magnitude to warrant a regular expedition being sent out, yet there was constant and harassing work for small detachments. The taluka of Yaval was still part of Sindia's dominions, and the marauders found a refuge there. The local officials, while professing to assist the Company's Government, found it paid them to keep in with the Bhils.

In 1838 Lieut. Agar, Adjutant, C. P. Corps, was looted outside Burhanpur by a party of armed Bhil robbers 25 strong. They tied him and his escort up, and decamped with Rs. 1,500.

The same year Mr. J. D. Inverarity, Assistant Collector, Ahmednagar, had his camp robbed by Satmala Bhils.

In 1839 a Major and Mrs. Brookes, who, were travelling over the Sindva Pass, were attacked by Bhil robbers, and relieved of all their property. The list of contents of Mrs. Brookes' box, furnished by her husband, is interesting as showing what were the contents of a traveller's wardrobe in those days.

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List of property missing from Mrs. Brookes' Boxes.

		Rs.
2	shawls, the one French, the other Indian cashmere.	120
1	Swiss muslin dress	25
1	„ cambric „	12
1	white worked muslin dress	20
2	morning dresses edged with lace	30
1	piece (couch) chintz	5
10	yds. long cloth	5
1	worked muslin	6
1	pair gentlemen's boots (English)	20
2	patent merino under-dresses (gentlemen's) ...	10
4	pair patent knit cotton drawers „ ...	16
4	pair merino socks	6
4	patent knit cotton underdresses	16
2	new hair brushes	8
3	bottles eau de cologne	4
1	quart essence of lemon	20
1	pint „ of bitter almonds	10
8	pairs sheets	24
24	pillow cases (frilled)	24
	about three dozen towels	15
	„ „ table towels	12
1	table cloth	4
1	dozen new petticoats (trimmed)	60
1	„ old „	36
1½	„ sleeping dresses	72
2	„ linen	72
2	„ under dresses	48
2	„ pocket handkerchiefs	8
	Rs.	708
1	drawing box with colours }	50
1	portable working case }	
	Rs.	758

Many other instances might be recorded, which go to show that though no large or conspicuous campaign was undertaken, yet Lieut. Graham and his men were kept continually at work. Almost

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every one of his letters contains references to difficult outpost duty, arduous hill climbing, long marches, and so forth.

A wearisome and unseemly wrangle was also kept up with Government. The officers' allowances were cut, the men's bhatta was reduced, the position of the Regulars attached to the corps was depreciated. Old and bad arms and ammunition were supplied, and such necessaries as tents had to be fought for. To modern minds it may be hard to conceive that the ultimate authority responsible for the corps was the High Court, or Sadar Fauzdari Adalat. Yet such was the case, and no doubt the absolute ignorance of the grave and reverend judges of military matters explains their want of sympathy for the crying needs of the corps.

In 1838 Lieut. Browne, 2nd in command, died in the Jamner jungles, and Lieut. Morris succeeded. Lieut. J. W. Auld, of the 26th N. I., was appointed Adjutant. It may entertain officers of the present day to know that hardly was Lieut. Browne cold in his grave before the Accounts Department discovered that he had overdrawn some allowances, and endeavoured to mulct his estate.

In 1839, Capt. Graham had a short campaign in the jungle of Baglan, Pimpalner, and Navapur, bordering on the Dangs, against a rabble of thieves acting under some of the petty local Chiefs. No details are forthcoming, except that the Rajas of Vasurna, Chichli and Gadvi Dangs had looted villages in Peint and Baglan, and that the country near Navapur was much disturbed. All available men of the Bhil Corps were called out, but what actual fighting occurred does not transpire. Most likely the rebels succeeded in escaping into their trackless jungles without suffering much punishment. Two important results, however, followed. One was the increase of the Bhil Corps by a 'Dang levy' of 75 men for local duty. Recruits were at first hard to obtain, but a start was made, and a free admixture of trained officers and men from the parent corps being allowed, the levy became a success. In two years' time it was reported fit to take its place as a component part of the disciplined corps.

The second result of the Dang operations was a long and well considered report on local conditions round Navapur. The country was long noted for its excellent cultivation. Tavernier, the old French traveller, makes a special note of the prosperity of Navapur

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and the excellence of its rice, which was preferred to any in India. Capt. Graham reports that all signs of prosperity had vanished, that the condition of the people was wretched, and that under the sway of beggarly chieftains and unprincipled revenue contractors, matters were going from bad to worse. Such police as there were, were nominated from among the personal hangers-on of this or that chieftain, were in perpetual arrears of pay, and had neither the power nor the inclination to preserve the peace. Capt. Graham makes proposals for the better policing of the country, for exacting work from the hereditary guardians of the passes, and above all for the re-establishment of the W. Bhil Agency.

It is easy to see from Col. Robertson's correspondence that about 1825 the Bhil Agents in the west and south of the province were his right-hand men. On them he relied to reclaim the savages, put the land under cultivation, and administer justice. They also had troops at their command, so that they could secure the frontiers by suppressing local risings. The records are full of appreciation by Government of the work of Capts. Rigby and Ovans. Yet the W. Bhil Agency was abolished in 1828, and the S. Bhil Agency was combined with the office of 2nd in command of the Bhil Corps. As the headquarters of the agency were at Kannad and those of the corps at Dharangaon, it is obvious that neither duty could be well performed. The results of this parsimonious policy are shown, as far as the W. Agency is concerned, in a most unpleasant light by Capt. Graham.

This period of the corps' history, though deficient in actual fighting, is noteworthy for the careful organization by the Commandant of the enormous quantity of detachment duty expected of his corps. That this duty, extending over a province 180 miles long and 100 miles broad, was cheerfully performed by the men, and resulted in no complaints from Government or the public, is a matter of credit to all concerned. In answer to a query from the Military Board as to the duties of his corps, Capt. Graham reports as under. The horsemen referred to are from the Poona Auxiliary Horse, small bodies of which corps formed the mounted police of the district.

The Horsemen and Bhil cerps are stationed in eighteen posts over a surface of country extending 180 miles in length and

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upwards of 100 miles in breadth; they guard all the district jails and treasuries, escort prisoners and treasure to head-quarters, form the escort parties of the Collector and his Assistant, Civil Engineers, etc., and have for the last five years been distributed on posts along the frontier of the troubled districts of the Saatmulla Range, the Dang and the Saatpura Mountains, having in their keeping every post in Khandes formerly held with such loss of life by the troops of the Line. The bazar, opium, magisterial, and Mamletdar's guards at Dhoolia, to the amount of 70 men on daily duty, are also furnished from the Bheel Corps whose total of men absent on duty from headquarters amounts to (628) six hundred and twenty-eight. In cases of aggression from beyond the frontier as well as of internal gang robberies the nearest post is marched to the scene of disturbance to act at the requisition of the Police authorities.

(Signed) D. C. GRAHAM,

Commanding Bheel Corps.

Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to allude to the descendants of the Khandesh Bhil Corps. The Collectors of Ahmednagar and Poona modelled their Police forces on it as far as might be.

How Outram called for a strong detachment to Gujarath, to assist in forming the local Koli Corps, has already been described. Further, at Outram's instance, volunteers were asked from the Khandesh Bhil Corps to assist in embodying a local corps in Malwa. This corps is still in existence, and is thus a direct descendant of the Khandesh Corps. Not actually assisted by men from Khandesh, but modelled on the corps at Outram's suggestion, is the Mewar Bhil Corps. The letter written by Outram to advocate its formation will clearly show this, and incidentally is of great interest as it proves how Outram traces the success of the Khandesh Corps to the foresight and genius of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

SIR.

In compliance with your request I have the honour to forward to you the under-mentioned documents relating to the Bheel Corps, which I raised in Candeish and lately commanded, and

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I sincerely hope that the success which has attended that measure and the beneficial results accruing from it, may encourage the officer appointed to raise the Serohie Legion to embody his corps from among the feudatory tribes it is intended to keep in check, which foreign mercenaries or any other class of soldiery will never, I am confident, so effectually restrain, however highly disciplined may be the men or zealous the officers.

2 Through the Candeish Bheel Corps Government has secured the whole of that class in the province (calculated at one-eight of the population) and the internal peace of that extensive district, formerly the most disturbed in this presidency. The corps also effectually checks all the wild tribes occupying the jungles beyond its frontier, the strongest in India. There is also a great pecuniary saving besides, the Bheel Corps not costing one half of the establishments which have been disbanded in consequence of its success (*viz.* a Local Corps of Infantry, 200 Auxiliary Horse, and a large body of District Sebundy). There is a saving also of remissions which formerly amounted to a large sum on account of the plundering, burnings, and ravages of the Bheels.

3 Consider also the expense of Batta and Field Equipments to troops of the Line (which were annually and ineffectually employed to suppress the Bheels in whole Brigades), the wear and tear and injury to regiments, caused by large detachments of regular troops which were maintained at the most unhealthy outposts, the great increase to the pension list (to which Regiments serving in Candeish sent three times the number of disabled sepoys to those serving in any other part of the Bombay Presidency) the exposure of European officers (whose tours of duty in Candeish was formerly looked upon as a mere toss up for life). All these disadvantages have been removed by the happy measure of securing to our interest the turbulent tribes which caused the injury.

4 Even did we not benefit so substantially as I have pointed out, the humanity of the measure alone should advocate its adoption, and I do humbly think that the most blessed act of

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Mr. Elphinstone's public life was insisting on entertaining and in trusting Bheel soldiery—notwithstanding the repeated strenuous opposition of the local officers who dreaded the danger of the attempt. His superior mind foretold the advantages which would result from Bheel reform (the consequence of its success) and that success must ever attend a measure founded on humanity and mercy if properly pursued. Well would that great man now be rewarded, could he visit Candeish, and see the state to which he has been the cause of raising the formerly miserable and outcast Bheel, who now mixes with the highest castes on an equality and feels an equal interest in the prosperity of the land to that of our most loyal subjects.

5 Innumerable are the proofs I could adduce of the gratitude of the Bheels of Candeish to our Government and of their devotion to us in our service, but were I to dwell on these subjects as my heart would dictate, I should transgress far on your time and patience. I will therefore merely now mention the superiority of Bheel troops. For mountain warfare they are admirable Light Infantry and cheerfully follow their officers wherever they will lead, which you personally witnessed in the detachment you saw on my escort at Oodypoor. Though engaged only for Local Service in Candeish, these men had undertaken a march of 1,200 miles.

6 In proof of what I have advanced I have the honour to forward several instances of the good services of the corps (in addition to the documents you required, showing the mode of raising it, which are contained in No. 1) *viz.* No. 2, the copy of a report of a skirmish between young Bheel recruits in our service and their clansmen opposed to us, to prove their fidelity and spirit on the first opportunity I had of putting them to trial.

7 The papers (No. 3) (on the subject of the settlement of a jungle territory bordering on the west of Candeish called the Daung which our troops had never heretofore ventured into, though our Surat and neghbouring districts had suffered from the annual inroads of the Bheels from there for half a century past, to check which permanent military detachments

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had always been maintained on the border) are given to show the power which Bheel Agency gives over similar tribes in wild districts. Troops of the Line alone never could have succeeded, but the Bheel Corps (though not particularly mentioned) was the actual machinery with which I worked, and through it I secured the rude Bheel allies and accomplished in one month without bloodshed, what would have been attended with much loss of life and very doubtful success had Regulars been employed.

8 No. 4 is advanced as an example of military service of the Bheel Corps and to show how cordially and successfully it acts in concert with troops of the Line. The part of the Satpoora Mountains and Nemar where we operated on that occasion, is the strongest country I can conceive (and almost totally unknown) although I have penetrated all the wildest haunts on this side of India, those dividing this country from Meywar not excepted.

9 No. 5 is an instance of the extraordinary efficiency of the Bheel Corps as police. In this case not only did a score of Bheel sepoys seize upwards of 500 Bheels and other desperate characters, but they also procured the evidence necessary to convict the guilty and were the only guards over them during a month. I was occupied on their trial with the disadvantage of having only an extensive Gurry to confine them in, and with no means of separating, fettering, or shutting them up, so that nothing but the vigilance of the Guard could prevent any attempt on the part of the prisoners to overpower it. To this I will add for your information that the evidence was so complete that of 158 prisoners who were committed, only 14 were acquitted, and the whole of the rest were sentenced to various terms of from 7 to 14 years.

10 These instances have been adduced to show the nature of its service, and thus has the corps been constantly employed ever since December 1826, now nearly 10 years, during which it had never (when I left a year ago) failed in a single instance of effecting the object required, and with such address and activity as generally to accomplish it immediately and without bloodshed. Whether apprehending offenders as

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police, or suppressing and dispersing rebellious bands, it had never betrayed a trust either of prisoners, treasure, or property. No other punishments have been inflicted on its members than dismissal from the corps (except in one or two instances of individuals having been made over to the civil power for petty theft after dismissal from the corps with public disgrace). Though Bheels are prone to drunkenness in their wild state, an instance of any excess of that nature is now scarcely ever heard of in the corps, from which the offender is invariably dismissed on repetition of the offence, and in the first instance if on duty.

11 I also send three reports of the Collectors of Candeish, one by Colonel Robertson, dated 18th March 1825, before the commencement of the Bheel reform, another by G. Giberne, Esq., dated 10th November 1828, after its accomplishment, and a third by Mr. Boyd of later date, that you may compare the state of that country at those periods.

12 I am induced to transmit such very voluminous documents in the anxiety that you should be fully impressed with the advantages of engaging a portion of the wild tribes of your frontier to control the rest, having heard that a body of troops is about to be established at Serrohie for that purpose. Should it be chiefly composed of Bheels and Kholies as Infantry and the Rajputs of the country as Horse, and should similar measures be adopted on this side of the border (which I have had the honour to recommend and submitted for your consideration), I would confidently prognosticate a similar happy result to what has rewarded us in Candeish!

13 Annexed is a present state of the Candeish Bheel Corps and its expense. You will observe that there are 67 Regulars; this is a draft from the Line permanently attached to the Bheel Corps, but retaining the pay and privileges of the Line, the remaining 802 are Bheels, total 869; these are divided into nine Companies, to each of which is attached a Bugler and a Bheestee, the whole expense of the Corps (exclusive of European officers) being Rupees 5,265½ monthly.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed.) JAMES OUTRAM,

Political Agent.

Mhyeekaunta.

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Outram continually alludes to the Khandesh Bhil Corps as the first of its kind. The Court of Directors, however, evidently compared it with that raised among the Pahadyas by Cleveland of Bhagalpur.

The following is an extract from a Despatch from the Court received in 1836 :—

> The admirable conduct of the officers to whom the immediate executive duties were confided, especially of Major Ovans and Lieutenant Outram, has been the means of effecting a complete change in the habits of the Bheel tribes. They have universally abandoned their predatory habits, they are now a prosperous agricultural community, from among them a corps has been formed, which has attained so high a state of discipline and efficiency that to its protection the tranquillity of the country is now in a great degree confided, and by its means a degree of security, both of person and property, appears to be maintained, which is scarcely excelled in any part of India.
>
> 3 This signal instance of (what we have so often impressed upon you) the superior efficacy of conciliatory means in reducing uncivilized and predatory tribes to order and obedience, is one of the most gratifying events in the recent history of British India and we trust that the success of your measures will impress upon our Indian Government the policy as well as the humanity of pursuing the same course in all similar cases. This wise and benevolent policy was first adopted by the late Mr. Cleveland in the District of Baugulpore some fifty years ago, and was attended with singular success in reclaiming the hill people of that district from a state of the utmost barbarism, and the memory of that excellent officer is, we understand, held in reverence, even at the present day by the rude tribes who inhabited the hills as well as by the inhabitants of the more civilized portion of the district.
>
> We desire that you will communicate to Major Ovans and Lieutenant Outram, our particular approbation of their conduct.
>
> We are, etc., etc.

London, the 1st April, 1835.

The explanation of the paradox would appear to be, not that Outram was ignorant of Cleveland, but that Cleveland's corps was more of the nature of the defunct Khandesh Local Battalion, a collection of Irregulars with purely local duties, rather than a trained and organized regiment of Light Infantry.

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CHAPTER X.

CAPTAIN MORRIS, ACTING COMMANDANT, AND CAPTAIN GRAHAM COMMANDANT.

THE days of regular organization and steady developement were destined to end immediately after the call of Captain Graham to the presidency 'on secret service'. In the hot weather of 1841 an insurrection broke out among the Bhils between the Tapti and Narbada, to the north and west of the Sindva Pass, which necessitated an active campaign. The Collector was reluctant to resort to arms and Government even reproached him for his delay. The force which was subsequently assembled in May consisted of 100 men of the Bhil Corps, 60 of the Poona Auxiliary Horse, and 50 of the 22nd N. I. under a Subedar. In a few days these men had marched to the Narbada, had a skirmish in very bad country, and put to flight the gang. Captain Morris' letter here reproduced is brief enough. But considering that the Satpura Hills near the Akrani, where the operations took place, are 4,000 ft. high, and so steep that even a wounded bison cannot charge up them, considering also that the shade temperature in May is between 112° and 120°, and that water is very scarce, the work must have been none of the lightest.

To

R. K. PRINGLE, Esq.,
COLLECTOR OF KHANDESH,
NUNDOORBAR.

SIR,

I have the honour to report I have received information of Bhamnia Naik having been killed by some of the sowars of Major Pettingal's Detachment on the 22nd instant.

2 It appears that he left his gang with a few followers and proceeded to the ravine where the skirmish took place between my detachment and part of his gang on the 21st instant to ascertain, it is supposed, whether the person killed on that

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occasion was his brother-in-law or not, and that during his stay there a party of Horse fell in with him and killed him after a short struggle.

3 Previous to hearing of his death, I had made arrangements to attack him and his gang this morning at daybreak, and accordingly marched upon this spot where I was sure of coming upon them, but after a harassing night march over a rugged and difficult road I arrived here only to learn of the dispersion of the whole gang on account of the report of his death having reached them.

4 I intend following the cattle up and expect to be able to recover them in a day or two.

5 I also have planned an attack on Dowlea's stronghold as soon as my spies return.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
W. T. MORRIS,
Bheel Agent.

Camp Babree, 24th May 1841.

Probably it was in this expedition that the great drum or Nagara of the Bhil Corps, now in the Police Training School Mess at Nasik, was captured.

The effect of the capture or death of the Bhil leader was instantaneous. Captain Morris was immediately able to return to Khandesh, the infantry were sent back to Malegaon, and quiet was restored. It is notable that Khaja Sing, Outram's nominee for the Sindva Pass wardenship, acquitted himself creditably on this occasion.

The Rains of 1841 were hardly over, when disturbing news came from the east of the province. A person dressed as an ascetic had proclaimed himself to be the Ex-Raja of Nagpur, had descended from the hills to the north of Berar, in the country between the Tapti and Purna Rivers, had occupied Jalgaon Jamod, the principal town of the neighbourhood, and was spreading his usurpation over that part of India. His forces were reported to number from 3,000 to 5,000 men. Letters from him inviting recruits for the rebel army were discovered. In short, an attack on Khandesh from the east was imminent.

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The means of communication were scanty and irregular, but sufficient news was received to cause troops to be massed at Asirgadh, while the co-operation of H. H. the Nizam's forces was invited and the Bhil Corps, under Captain Morris in Raver and Captain Auld in Bodvad, lined the frontier. Fortunately a bold coup by the Nizam's troops effected the capture of the "Ex-Raja," and the dispersion of the rebels, but this happy ending did not occur until the Bhil Corps had undergone a great deal of harassing work.

Early in 1842 Lieutenant Hoare resigned the Adjutancy on the ground of incessant ill-health, and Ensign Hunter was appointed in his stead. He was duly sworn in as Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate, and the formal oath is preserved. It is interesting enough to reproduce :—

I James Hunter appointed Assistant to the Magistrate of the Zilla of Candeish do solemnly declare that I will to the best of my ability preserve the peace of the said Zilla; that I will act with impartiality and integrity and will not exact or receive, directly or indirectly or knowingly permit any person under my control or in my service to exact or receive, directly or indirectly, any fee, reward or emolument whatever, in the execution of or on account of any matter relating to the duties of my office excepting such as the orders of the Governor in Council do or may expressly authorize, and that I will perform the duties of my office, according to the best of my knowledge, abilities and judgment, conformably to the regulations that have been or may be passed by the Governor in Council.

JAMES HUNTER,
Assistant Magistrate.

Declared before me this 18th day of May 1842.
W. T. MORRIS,
Assistant Magistrate.

The new Adjutant did not arrive in time to take part in a campaign which was organized in the spring of 1842. A year ago the Bhils to the west of the Sindva Pass had been dispersed. This year those to the east were attacked. The troops employed were all from the Bhil Corps, with some Poona Irregular Horse. In order to make more men available, the numerous guards at Dhulia were

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supplied by the Regulars. Captain Auld was called up from Kannad and assisted Captain Morris. The operations are summed up in a Despatch from the Collector, of which an extract is here given:—

> Captain Morris commenced his operations about the beginning of March, when he was joined by his second in command, Captain Auld, who was withdrawn from the duties of his agency at Kunnur, the situation of Adjutant of the corps being at that time vacant. The accompanying documents No. 1 to 26 are the successive reports of the progress of his operations, together with the collateral correspondence with the authorities in Malwa and Nimar to which they gave occasion, and the last in the series No. 25 is his final report of the nature and results of the operations to which I would solicit the special attention of Government.
>
> From these documents the H. E. the G. in C. will learn that Captain Morris by a series of persevering and well directed movements has succeeded in the full attainment of his object before the approach of the rains. The western tract of the Satpoora Hills has been thoroughly scoured and a salutary awe has been impressed on the Bheels in that quarter, who had so often disturbed the peace of the surrounding country with impunity. Of their five principal leaders four have been apprehended and the fifth and most notorious was killed in an attempt to resist his captors. Of the followers 163 have been seized, and, with the chiefs, await the ulterior proceedings which justice or policy may require.

Captain Morris recommends the establishment of a Satpura Bhil Agency, with power to create and finance agricultural settlements, similar to that already working in the Satmalas. He also deplores the state of the country near Chopda and Yaval, which had been taken over from Sindia, but again handed back to him. He notes that as long as it remains in Sindia's hands, so long must the peace of the province suffer, the foreign territory being regarded by the Bhil rebels as a safe asylum. The Collector, however, holds out no hopes in either direction.

In this campaign Khaja Sing again gave valuable assistance, and was rewarded with Rs. 100 for capturing one of the rebel Chiefs.

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During 1843 Captain Morris seems to have introduced over the province generally a system which was already in force in the Southern Agency, to wit, the compulsion of all village Bhils to present themselves before the Patil for roll call, or 'hazari.' This system still exists, and given an honest Patil, is most useful in the detection of crime. A Bhil who has been absent from roll call is at once put under suspicion of having been away for no honest purpose. To be absent on their lawful occasions, all the Bhils have to do is to procure a 'chit' from the Patil, stating their names and residence, and the purpose of their journey.

In the hot weather of 1843 Capt. Morris was sent to the Dangs to meet Mr. Boyce, Government Timber Agent. He traversed the whole western part of the province, and took the opportunity again strongly to recommend the replacement of the Western Bhil Agent. Incidentally he made some remarks on the condition of the Dang timber trade, which apparently attracted little notice at the time. They are, however, a sufficiently clear statement in themselves of the policy adopted by Government 60 years later, unfortunately after much of the best forest had been ruined.

> The tract of country called the Dang is our south-western boundary, and its inhabitants though wild and naturally predatory, yet I trust will soon improve. The Chiefs like the other petty Rajahs are swayed by money-lenders into whose debt they are easily led, and the produce of their country is then taken to repay a debt which the money-lenders take good care is never finally settled and which the recklessness of the Chiefs, their wantonness and ignorance increases, instead of decreasing. The re-establishment of the Western Agency as suggested in my letter to the Collector, dated 27th May, 1841, would do much good, but as the Dang Chiefs are quite independent, all attempts at improvement should occasion such apparent and real advantage as would at once induce them to adopt them, for instance, recruiting a company of men from the Dang in the Bheel Corps is now felt an act of kindness and consideration towards them, and the superintendence of an Agent to whom they could apply for advice and in whom they had confidence would do more to reclaim them than anything else, but we must first

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quietly point out to them the way to clear themselves from the power of the money-lenders and that then the produce of their country will soon turn to their own advantage. But another great drawback to the prosperity of the Dang and one which will keep the inhabitants in its present miserable state until measures are adopted to reclaim them, is, that the principal produce of the Dang being teakwood, and the traffic for years having been almost entirely carried on with the inhabitants of Surat, they purchase the finest timber almost for nothing, and the spirit in which this traffic is carried on, being for mere personal gain, nothing is looked to by these traders but actual profit. The mischief of such traffic to the improvement of the Dang is evident and must, if allowed to continue, drain the country of its finest timber without any returns. I am aware of a Naval Officer having been sent up to examine and report on this timber and open a traffic for it, but these Chiefs, like other Chiefs, look to the authorities with whom communication on all matters concerning them is authorized, and any other negotiation than the established one would fail, and it is my humble opinion that more could be done through the authorities of Khandesh than through any other. I have no doubt these Chiefs would willingly give up trafficking with the Surat traders if our Government would open a traffic with them, and this change in their affairs would do more to reclaim these inhabitants from their wild state and to throw a little wealth into their hands, than anything I know. Besides this advantage it would be a mercy to save so untutored a race from their present actually miserable condition, which is in a great measure to be accounted for from our little intercourse with them and the ruinous traffic which has been carried on with Surat. An Agent from the Indian Navy of conciliatory disposition and well acquainted with the language, if sent to the Dang through the Collector of Khandesh, might in the proper season visit every part of this country and report on the timber, but I would respectfully suggest that all communication on this point should originate from the Khandesh Collector as hitherto done.

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Before the rains of 1843 set in, two more disturbances took place. A gang appeared in the Satmalas east of Kannad, and was dealt with for the time being by H. H. the Nizam's troops, the Bhil Agent merely keeping watch on the frontier. Two fresh rebels collected a gang in the Satpuras. As no European officer was at hand, the Subedar-Major of the Bhil Corps was sent after them with 50 men. This is the first time a native officer was sent out to active service in independent command. The gang was dispersed, but the leaders escaped, owing to the apathy or treachery of Sindia's authorities at Yaval.

Captain Graham returned to the command in June, and Captain Morris took over the Kannad Agency, and 2nd in command's office. He at once found it necessary to hunt down the Satmala gang, under Baherya Naik, and undertook a chase through the mountains, which lasted a month, and can have been no pleasant job in July and August. The man was ultimately captured in a village near Pachora, where Sindia's authorities had long connived at his finding a refuge.

The statements of Baherya Naik's gang, one of them his own brother, confirming their participation in Baherya's doings, are worth reading. They show the extraordinary mobility of the Bhils, and the rapidity with which news of the prospect of loot was circulated. The stories of these men, added to the depositions of others of the gang, too diffuse for reproduction, indicate a series of raids, principally in the Satmalas, but extending to Pimpalner, the Satpuras, Malkapur in Berar, and the Purna River in H. H.'s dominions. The gang was able to dissolve into thin air, or reassemble in formidable numbers, at a moment's notice. The duplicity of Sindia's officers is also strongly emphasized.

Evidence taken before Captain Benjamin Baillie Johnson, Superintendent of the Regiment of Hill Rangers at the Boordane Camp,

Evidence of Fukeera alias Andelya Wullud Luddoo Naik and brother of Byria Naik of the Bheel caste and about the age of 35 years, inhabitant of the village of Cheetzpoor in the Pachora pergunnah in the territory of H. H. Sindia.

On the 5th of July 1843 the above-mentioned Captain Johnson having called me before him, directed me to state what I knew in the matter of Byria and Sew Ram Naiks and

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warned me not to conceal anything but state the whole truth. I, therefore, declare that Byria Naik escaped from the Hydrabad Jail, came to the village of Kursanee, in the Jamnair Talooka, which is in the Honorable Company's Territory, and remained for six months in the house of his father-in-law Doongar Naik who is a Wuttundar of that place, after which Byria Naik assembled

1 Dongya Bheel of the village of Langaon (Mungaum or Langaum) in the Company's territory.
1 Jeysingya Bheel of the above-mentioned village.
1 Nagya Bheel of the above-mentioned village.
1 Doongya Bheel of the village of Cheetz Khaira in the aforesaid territory.

The above-named four Bheels were concerned in the attack upon the Government Treasury at Pimpulnair. These and other ten Bheels of the village of Koorungee and Langaon, which are in the Company's territory, Byria Naik took with him to Sew Ram Naik at Mulcapoor. How many Bheels he collected in the Mulcapoor Purgannah I do not know, but these both Naiks having collected bands went to the Satpoora Mountains. These latter Bheels had plundered a village Jatra or Fair and whilst carrying the booty into the Satpoora Mountains the bands of the first named Bheels met them. The result of this meeting was that Byria Naik and his band of Bheels took by force the booty from the others and carried it to the village in which Sew Ram Naik lived, and there sold it. After this they plundered a village near the Satpoora Mountains and sold the booty in the village of Langaon where Sew Ram Naik with his band remained. About one month elapsed when Byria Naik came alone to the house of his sister-in-law, where he remained. This house is in the village of Hadsa, in the Ootran Purgannah, which is in the Company's territory. This woman's name I do not know, but she is a Wuttundareen. From that place he came to me at the village of Bhaje Cheetzpoor, which is in Sindia's territory, and he there told me what I have above stated, adding that I had better go with him there, for there was plenty of booty to be obtained in that

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direction. We told him we would not go, but if there was anything to be got in the villages or on the roads round about the place we were at we would accompany him; on this Byria Naik asked me and three or four other Bheels what we expected to obtain where we were and he told us that if we plundered on the road we should get at any rate four rupees each and would be able to live comfortably.

With this design we became the companions of Byria. Our intentions, however, were discovered by Unwur Khan Desmook of the Pachora Purgannah in Sindia's territory, who, therefore, sent a sipahi to bring us to Pachora. Then Byria Naik, Ramchundra Patel of the village of Bhaje Cheetzpur, Bhamza Fakeer also of that place, Bhorjya Bheel, Naik of the same village, and Shamjee Bheel, Naik of the Seewan Purgannah, these having gone to Unwur Khan Desmook at Pachora, subscribed one rupee each and made to him a "nuzzur" of ten rupees. The Desmook then told us on no account to allow ourselves to be laid hold of, and to exercise our vocation without hesitation, but he prohibited the commission of any violence in either the Company's or Sindia's territories. On the Dukkun Ghauts, however, in Berar, and other places we might plunder as much as we pleased, but that whatever booty we obtained one half was to be his share and the other ours. To this we agreed and Byria with the rest of us left the place. We went to the village of Kunkralla which is below Shahgur, in Sindia's territory and remaining there collected forty men. Their names are as follows.

1 Byria Naik.
1 I myself.
2 men of the village of Bhaje Cheetzpur in Sindia's territory, *viz.*:—
1 Bhoorjya Bheel
1 Luriya Bheel.

—
2
—

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6 Bheels of the village of Nandole in Sindia's territory *viz*:—

1 Bhikun Bheel.
1 Khundoo Bheel.
4 of Khundoo's brothers whose names I do not know.

—
6
—

4 Bheels of the Warree of Shewun, *viz*:—

1 Guntiya Bheel.
1 Talkiya Bheel.
1 Munnoo Bheel.
1 Siwriya Bheel.

—
4
—

4 Bheels of the village of Sahrone in Unwur Khan Desmook's District in the Purgannah of Pachora in Sindia's territory, *viz*:—

1 Mahloo Naik.
1 Ruguja Bheel.
1 Tarrajee Naik.
1 Pandoo Bheel.

—
4
—

4 Bheels of the village of Goorano Khan in Sindia's territory *viz*:—

1 Morkiya Bheel.
1 Yeswant Bheel.
1 Bhagiya Bheel.
1 Heerajee Bheel.

4
—

3 Bheels of the village of Warrolee in Sindia's territory, *viz*.—

Sowtoo Bheel and his brothers.

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4 Bheels of the village of Wurgaum Purgannah of Pachora in Sindia's territory, *viz.*:—

1 Urjoon Bheel.
1 Syel Naik, a Wuttundar.
2 Bheels whose names I do not know.

—
4
—

10 Bheels from the Company's territory as follows:—

2 Bheels of the village of Hudsan, Purgannah Ootran.
4 Bheels of the village Kooroongee in the above Purgannah.
1 Doongur Naik.
1 Kaosun Naik.
2 Sons of Kaosun.

8 Bheels of the village of Lajgaun :—

1 Jysingya.
1 Bhariya Bheel.
1 Dongya Bheel.
1 Nagya Bheel.
1 Doongya Bheel.
1 Son of Jysingya.
1 Urzoon Bheel.
1 Son of Urzoon Bheel.

The following 9 Bheels belong to Sindia's territory, *viz.*:—

1 Shamjee Naik Bheel.
1 Goonya Naik Khoondale Julkee.
1 Gundya Bheel Khoondale Julkee.
1 Changya Naik Bheel of the village of Barukha, Purgannah Wahlee.
1 Munya Naik Bheel of Bheeldurree in the Untoor Purgannah.
1 Hutnya Naik of the above place, father-in-law of Munya Naik.
1 Lallia Bheel of Shaikpoor Khan.
1 Lallia Bheel.
1 Bhoorja Bheel.

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The above-mentioned number of Bheels was collected and besides these two Patels of the village of Nande in the Sawalde Baree Purgannah became our accomplices to give us intelligence; their names I do not know but they bore the relation to each other of uncle and nephew. Being all together we first plundered on the road a Jatra of Dewalgaum at the boundary of Seonee; but a detachment of the Surkar's Sewars and Sipahies came after us and we fled from thence to the River Mèhè below the ghauts. From this place we went to the village of Puttar Godra which is near Pimpree and within the Company's territory. There we entered the jungles. At this time the two Patels of Nande, our givers of intelligence, were with us. They told us of the village of Nande in the Sawulde Baree Purgannah in Sindia's territory. We consequently in the evening attacked and plundered it. The Patels told us to burn it to the ground, but this we did not do. Leaving Nande we went to the Dhond Veeheeree nulla at Tondapoor, and then divided the booty into two shares, one of which we gave to those two Patels and kept for ourselves that which remained, of which each man received his share. We then separated and each man went to his house. One month had elapsed when Shamjee Naik of the village of Bhaepoor sent a mang to Byria Naik and myself at the village of Bhaje Cheetzpoo. That mang told us that Shamjee Naik of Seonee Bhakur sent intelligence that some wealthy tailors were coming to the Muswah bazaar. He, therefore, requested us to bring a band of men quickly. On hearing this Byria Naik and I took with us both the Bheels of our own territory and those of the Company whose names are written down and went to the mountains of the Mhal of Vetal Warree where there are some vacated caves. At this place we met Changoo Naik and Shamjee Naik Bhokurdunwalla who had collected thirty men. With the Patels of Nande we amounted altogether to a band of about seventy men. The whole being assembled we remained that day there and at night went to the village of Bhewpoor in the Bhokurdun Purgannah and remained in the jungle near that place. After staying

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there a day and night, we lay in wait early near the Awhaney road; there at about 9 o'clock in the morning we saw some merchants and attacked and plundered them, they were eight in number. Two of these merchants escaped with their horses, the remaining six we plundered. From them we took between (1500 and 1600) fifteen and sixteen hundred Chandore and Company's rupees, some copper coin, dishes, cloths, and whatever property they had. From that place on that very day we fled to the deserted side of the Poornah River, near Bhokurdun, and had gone about a cos when we fell in with two traders coming from that bazaar; these we plundered. They had only forty rupees and their wearing apparel which we took. Then we went to the Lone River where the sun set on us. At this spot Byria Naik and Shamjee Naik divided the spoil into two parts taking one for the Desmook of Pachora's share. From the other they took their own shares and divided the remainder amongst us. We received twenty rupees each. The Naik gave a present of twelve rupees to the two Patels of Nande for the intelligence they had furnished. After this Byria Naik, I, all our men who had been collected and Shamjee Naik Bhokurdunwalla returned to Bhaje Cheetzpoor in our own territories and Changoo Naik went into his own territory above the Ghauts. This is the history of that robbery.

After this occurrence Byria Naik and I remained a few days at Bhaje Cheetzpoor. There the Nande Patels sent intelligence to Changoo Naik that Captain Baillie Johnson Sahib had gone to Arungabad, that now was the time for work, and requested, therefore, that he would join them. This intelligence Changoo Naik sent to us by one of his own men. On hearing it, we took with us our band and started. On approaching the Ghauts, we plundered a Bunia's goor and wheat and taking what we required for food proceeded on our way to the village of Puttas, where we remained concealed. At this time we had nothing to eat and drink with us and, therefore, gave the wheat we had brought to the Patel of Puttas to be ground, which he caused to be done and we made bread and ate it. Starting

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thence we went to the Nundoo Ghaut to plunder that road. There thirteen of the Sahib's sowars came in sight and we immediately concealed ourselves in a ravine. When the sowars were gone that same day at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon we plundered a party of Momins of Dewulgaum who were coming from the Ooroos (fair) at the village of Sungus. Twenty men from a village that was near came quickly to their assistance and we began to fire at each other. Just at this time the sun set and during the night we returned to the place where we had taken our food. Here we remained one day. We afterwards went on the Raheep Khair road and plundered the people of that village coming from the Dewalghaut Bazaar. We took the weapons of the Raheep Khair Chokydars and tying the men's arms behind their backs went away. At the spot where the Peepla Ghaut passes by Dhawra, we, in the evening, plundered some merchants. After this we went into the Furdapoor jungle and halted. In consequence of the day having dawned we went and remained in the Gundya Mountains, which are about two cos from Futdapoor. At night our band broke up and each man returned to his own house. About eight or ten days had elapsed when Byria Naik, Shamjee Naik, with us and our people from below the ghauts, whose names are written above and besides these many poor people whose names I do not know, amounting in all to about sixty or seventy men, plundered the Khandesh people, the families of the Deshmooks of Burgaum, Parola, and several other people. This was done on the ghaut road leading to Chand Beebee's Jatra. The weapons and guns of the Seobundies who were guarding the ghaut were forcibly taken from them by Byria Naik. During the tumult occasioned by this attack the people of a village about a cos distant came running towards us blowing horns and beating drums with the intention of attacking us. We did not, however, fall into their hands and after exchanging a few shots the villagers left us. We then went to the mountains near the Fort of Untoor, where our band separated into two parties. Byria Naik took the Khandesh Bheels and plundered a marriage party near the

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village of Raksha in the Tondapoor Ghaut. On the ghaut Shamjee Naik with his band plundered the Sconee bazaar, near Kalee Kurar. We then received intelligence that a detachment of the Sahib's troops was marching to attack us, and that Rama Naik Julkeewalla also was bringing a body of men for the same purpose. The moment we heard this we fled all night and entering the Company's territories halted on the bank of the River Girna. Then we learned that the intelligence of the Sahib's and Rama Naik's detachments being on the march was false. Byria Naik and Shamjee Naik, therefore, collected two hundred men. I, at this time, informed them that the thatch of my roof wanted repairing and I should, therefore, leave them, which I did and went to my house. What was the design of Byria Naik and Shamjee Naik and where they went to after collecting so large a band I do not know. I and my three companions who are now in Bhaje Cheetzpoor saw plainly that we could not possibly escape from the sudden attacks of the Sahib and consequently we resolved to go into the presence of the Sahib, through the instrumentality of Rama Naik. I myself, therefore, went and remained at the village of Khooptee, where Rama Naik took me and brought me to you. I have stated truly the whole of the circumstances which occurred.

Question.—Is what you have stated above the truth ?

Answer.—It is true.

Question.—What have you done with the property you took in all the robberies you have mentioned ?

Answer.—In the village of Garod Khaira in the Pachora Purgannah there is a celebrated Naikin and Karbaree of the name of Cheemee. To her we were in the practice of taking the plundered property. She divided it into two shares, one of which she gave to the Desmook of Pachora, taking from the other her own share, that of Byroo and Shamjee Naiks with the sum expended for ammunition and the rest was divided amongst us. Besides this, whatever gold and silver was brought, was, through the instrumentality of Cheemee Naikin, taken to a goldsmith in the village of Nawee in the

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Pachora Purgannah and being broken up by him, the proceeds were divided amongst us by the Naikin.

Question.—Who were in the practice of giving you intelligence of the movements of detachments and what was going on in the ghauts and round about ?

Answer.—The two Nande Patels, whose names I have given above, were in the practice of furnishing us with intelligence from time to time.

Question.—At the time you plundered the village of Nande were Goonya and Gurdya Naiks and Koolal Julkeckur along with you or not ?

Answer.—Gurdya and Goonya Naiks were with us when we plundered Nande.

Question.—Was this Naik's younger brother by name Tanya Naik an accomplice in the plunder of Nande or not ?

Answer.—He was not.

Question.—Where is Tanya Naik now ?

Answer.—He is with Byria Naik.

Question.—Where was Byria Naik with his band when you left him ?

Answer.—Byria Naik having collected a band of from one to two hundred men was at the village of Wargaum in the Pachora Purgannah in Sindia's territory. It was his intention to collect more men when I left him and came home. He was collecting a very large band. I, therefore, thought it very probable that one day we should all be caught. The fear of this induced me to quit him and go home. I was present at Pachora, when two or three letters from the Sahib were received by the Mamletdar of that place, the sense of which was, that the Bheels of his district were plundering. The Mamletdar read those letters and then tore them to pieces in my presence saying to Byria Naik and the others that until there was evidence against us he would not permit us to be seized.

Question.—Of what caste are the people of Byria's band ?

Answer.—There is a Mang, two Mahrattas, and Bheels, besides these Murree Bheeleen of the Ootran Purgannah in the Company's territory brought to Byria's band about forty

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notorious Bheel robbers and murderers. In addition to these more Bheels were expected to join him from the Satpoora Mountains, but their caste or whether they came or not I do not know. Murree's husband, having committed some great robbery, had been caught and sent to Dhoolia, for this reason Murree brought forty men to Byria.

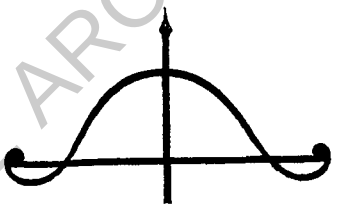
Question.—Where does Byria Naik usually reside ?

Answer.—He frequently lives at Wuzur Khaira in Sindia's territory, where there is a female distiller who makes excellent spirits and for whom he has a regard.

Question.—Were the six Bheels I showed to you Byria's associates ?

Answer.—The six Bheels Sahib showed to me are not Byria's companions, but the associates of Seo Ram Naik. Let the Sahib ascertain the truth of what I now say. I have stated all I know.

Date as above—Mark of the bow being the signature of Fukeera alias Andela Naik Wullud Luddo Naik Bheel, inhabitant of the village of Cheetzpoor in Sindia's territory.



Witness Ram Naik Watchman of the village of Julkee in the Dhowra Purgannah in Sindia's territory at present in the abovementioned cantonment.

Translation of a deposition of Duggroo Wd. Junglya before Captain Johnston on the above date.

Deposes—Kapsea Naik told me to go and join Byria Bheel Naik's gang and get all information about it and him and to tell him that Byria's nephew had run off with my woman. On this pretence I went and joined the gang for 20 days and observed as follows—that since Byria Bheel Naik escaped from Hyderabad he joined Sewram Naik and Sewram and Chimmee Naikin and her husband Mookya of Goradkhera of Pachora Pergunnah. They with Byria and Pachora Desh-

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mook and Munsaram Patcel of Wurkheree and Daggroo Pateel of Wungaum and Rooperea Sonar of Wungaum all assembled at one spot in Pachora and they all consulted together and took the oath together of the "Bel Bandara"; then the Deshmook and two Pateels and Sonar above mentioned told Byria that whatever you rob and bring you take all the old clothes yourself and all the gold and silver, pots and pans, you take two "hissa" (shares) and we take one hissa and we will give you protection and give you up to no one and give no information of you, but you must not rob in Scindia's and British country. This was all agreed to. After Captain Johnston had gone to Byzapoor, Byria and Sewram Naiks assembled 70 persons and robbed, on the Waggree Ghaut, the Dewalghaut Mussalmen, and then went and hid in the Roheenkhera jungle and after three days attacked and robbed the Dewalghaut people going to Roheenkhera, and the gang then went in the jungle of Sargaum Purganah Mulcapoor. Then a Mhar told them the Sahib was coming to seize them, and the gang broke up, and when the Sahib went to Pimpulgaum Raja then Sewram and Byria Naiks went to the hills of Goiroo Matagaum, and hearing of troops coming against them they dispersed and a part of the gang went to Lonar Mehkur and the rest of the gang rested near Nurkhera in a "Scinde bund" and afterwards attacked and robbed the marriage party on the Tondapoor Ghaut, and the Adjunta Bazaar people on the road and the gang then fled into Scindia's country and near Wujjur Khera at a place called Bilkorah assembled 200 or 300 people. The Sahib's troops came to Mulcapur and the Mahar of Mulcapoor ran and told Byria Naik of it and the gang dispersed and after this they attacked and robbed the Chand Bebee Ghaut and the property they brought into the Pachora jungle and sending Chimmie Naikin to the village called the Deshmook, pateels and sonar as before written to the Naik, and they made three "hissa" of property of which the Deshmook, etc., took one hissa and Byria Naik took two hissa. The fire arms of the Sebundies of Chand Bebee Ghaut are now in Budgaum umul Scindia with

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Duggroo Pateel and this Pateel also got share of the plunder, and some of the property he has in his house now—

Question.—You said Byria Naik assembled a gang in Bil kora in Pachora, then how many assembled and their caste?

Answer.—About 200 Bheels and 2 or 3 Maharattas and 7 Mangs.

Question.—How long did the gang of Bheels remain at Bilkora?

Answer.—About 4 or 5 days.

Question.—Who fed them?

Answer.—The villagers of Wujjurkhera, Kenarkhera, Turrulkhera of Scindiah in Pachora.

Question.—Do you know the Mang who took information to Byria from Mulcapoor?

Answer.—I know not his name but I can recognise him, and all the Mangs of that Perganna always gave Byria information of troops and therefore Byria gave them some of the stolen property.

In 1844 Captain Graham finally left the corps, being appointed Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and Captain Morris resumed the command. On leaving, he was asked to write a history of operations among the Bhils up to date. He did so, and the report was printed. It contains an admirable précis of the operations, of which some extracts may be quoted. They endorse as well as supplement what has been described in former chapters.

1825.

A serious insurrection takes place in Bauglan. Sewram, a blacksmith, producing forged papers from the Rajah of Sattara, entices the Bauglan Bheels to his standard, his intrigues extending to the Dhaung and Satpoora range. Attacks and plunders Untapoor with a party of 800 men and carries off the spoil to the Hill Fort of Molair.

Ray Sing threatens the purgunnahs of Kannapoor and Pimplee and the Daung Bheels appear in force at the Passes. A detachment of the Local Regiment arrives in time to repel an attack on the town of Molair, and shortly after Lieutenant Outram surprises and disperses the insurgents and recovers a great deal of the plunder.

Sewram is seized and sent in by Govind Naik, and the greater portion of the Bheels who had been engaged in the rebellion came in and received pardon, many agreeing to set up

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ploughs; the necessary arrangements are made by Mr. Graham, the 2nd Assistant Collector.

The country still continues in a very disturbed state and crime does not decrease. The formation of a Bheel Corps together with conciliatory measures ordered by the Court of Directors.

Chains of military posts are established along the foot of the Hills to intercept supplies and to act immediately upon information.

The village Patels discovered to be in league with the Bheels. Robberies and murders still frequent and roads entirely unsafe.

Lieutenant Outram after incredible difficulty succeeds in obtaining a few recruits.

1826.

A gang plundered Burgaon.

The Scindwa Ghaut shut by Dhun Sing and Soobhania returned from transportation.

Sooltanpoor plundered.

Depredations from the Daung.

Detachments sent against Devchund and 30 of his followers killed in Sooltanpoor, but Soobhania repulses the party of regulars sent against him, wounding 22 sepoys and some horses.

The Loharra Bheels plundering the country.

Detachments sent against them, the Deshmooks discovered as countenancing the Bheel plunderers.

Bodwur disturbed by large gangs.

1827.

A gang formed under Khundoo and Mahadeo, near Scindwah attacks the village of Boorwarree. Lieutenant Outram with a detachment of the Bheel Corps surprises them after a night's march, the gang is completely dispersed with the loss of one of its leaders killed and several of the followers. A Jemedar and 7 of the corps wounded on this occasion. The troops of the Line are relieved from outpost duty by the Bheel Corps.

1828.

The Collector reports that for the last six months the country has for the first time during 23 years enjoyed repose.

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The Bheel Corps is employed throughout the Province in pursuing foreign marauders, escorting prisoners and treasure, and furnishing outposts in situations where no one can exist during the rains except natives of the spot.

1829.

No complaint preferred during the season against any member of the corps.

A school established at Head Quarters, to teach the Bheel sepoys and their children.

The Daung Bheels plunder the village of Naggurce and Chorewar. Bheel parties are posted along the frontier to prevent further aggressions until the season admits of military operations.

The magistrate reports the great decrease of crime throughout the Agencies and bears testimony to the high character the Bheel Corps has gained. Large gangs assemble on the frontiers, restrict their depredations to the Nizam's territories, and are dispersed after much trouble.

1830.

All the available force of the Bheel corps and Auxiliary Horse, together with a strong detachment of regular troops, march on the Daung. A severe and harassing campaign ensues, owing to the excessively difficult nature of the country, the rapid movements of the Bheels and the assistance universally afforded to the enemy by the Guicowar's officers.

Every chief was, however, at length seized and brought to Khandesh, where the claims of each were thoroughly sifted and settled.

Great sickness prevailed amongst the troops after their return from the Daung.

The cultivating Bheels in the agency gradually progressing in the work of reformation.

1831.

The Turvees are in a very disturbed state plundering the North-east part of the Province. A detachment of Bheel Corps is marched under Lieutenant Outram to Yawal, 469 Turvees are apprehended and 158 sentenced by the Criminal Judge,

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Major Ovans reports the increasing prosperity and reformation of his colonies and the total success which has crowned his arduous labours. 641 Bheels at the plough.

8024 Beegas under cultivation.

1832.

Province remains quiet.

The Bheel Corps entrusted with the charge of the District Treasuries.

113 villages re-established in Chaleesgaon, Bhurgaon and Jamnair.

1833.

The Naiks Eesniah and Hutniah plunder several villages in the Sooltanpoor district. A large detachment of Bheel Corps and Horse penetrate the Saatpoora Mountains, scour the strongest passes, to the banks of the Nerbudda, and seize the two insurgent Chiefs together with all the Naiks engaged in the disturbance. 533 Jaglias established in the Southern Agency.

1835.

Parties of the Bheel Corps distinguish themselves at Boorhanpoor, Oomerawutty, and Aurungabad, in apprehending Thugs.

1836.

The Bheel Corps having now arrived at a perfect state of discipline, and containing within itself such a number of influential persons of each tribe in the Province, no individual can remain in the country at large, if his apprehension be required by the magistrate.

1839.

A Regiment of the Line withdrawn from the Province.

1840.

Purtab Sing Rajah of Umallee, Southern Daung, allows his followers to plunder British villages and refuses to obey the summons of the magistrate.

The Bheel Agent with a small party of the Corps and Horse, after a forced march of 60 miles, surprises his principal location and seizes his family, flocks and arms. Purtab Sing surrenders at discretion on the following day.

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A company of Bheels for the protection of his frontier raised by his Highness the Nizam.

1841.

A large party of Bheels from the province of Ahmednugger, plundered the Government Treasury at Pimpulnair, which had been left without adequate means of defence.

The marauders followed over the border by a party of the Bheel Corps, much intelligence obtained, together with a portion of the plunder, and with the assistance of the civil authorities at Ahmednugger, the gang was eventually secured.

Bhamnia Naik attacks a village in Sooltanpoor. The Bheel Agent moves through the Saatpoora against the insurgents.

Bhamnia shot near the banks of the Nerbudda and all the Chiefs of the Saatpoora range who had been engaged in the foray of Khandesh, seized and brought to Dhoolia.

The Mowass Chiefs threaten aggression, but on the appearance of a small force of Horse, and Bheels, surrender themselves to the Bheel Agent.

During the rains of 1844 a rumour was heard of outrages in the Akrani, committed by a gang led by the son of Bhamya, who had been defeated in 1841. The rumour was exaggerated, and no expedition actually set out, though preparations were made.

In the spring of 1845 news was brought that Raghoji Bangrya, a Koli rebel from the Konkan, was likely to find a refuge in the Dangs and Baglan. He was said to have made an alliance with the local Bhil Chiefs. Captain Morris thereupon assembled a force of regular Bhils, and marched to Jaykheda, the place where Outram camped in 1825 on his way to Mulher. He brought in the principal Bhil Chieftain, and for a while awaited developments. The peace of Khandesh indeed was secured by his movements, but Raghoji remained a menace to the Northern Konkan and Nasik, and it is a matter for credit to Khandesh and its Bhil Corps, that Government asked that Captain Morris might be deputed, with a contingent of his corps, to Nasik and the surrounding country with the object of crushing Raghoji's rebellion. The contingent marked as absent on duty in the Deccan with Captain Morris was 175 strong. It remained well on into the rains in the Ghauts, and though Captain

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Morris was not successful in seizing Raghoji, yet he and his men seem to have put an end to the armed rebellion, for they were allowed to return in July with the thanks of Government for their work.

In this year two additional companies were levied for the Corps, in consideration of its taking over the duty of garrisoning the fort of Sindva. In spite of the large detachment sent with Captain Morris, it was found possible to find a party of 25 men to operate against a gang of marauders in the West Satpuras.

Hitherto the Corps had been armed with flint locks, but now the issue of " percussion fire arms " was begun.

The Western Bhil agency was re-established in 1845 by order of the Governor-General in Council, and Lieutenant Rose was appointed Agent, retaining the position of 3rd in command of the Corps. From this time onwards the European officers of the Corps were theoretically as under.

Commandant. Headquarters, Dharangaon. Also Assistant Magistrate and Bhil Agent for Eastern Satpuras.

2nd in command. Headquarters, Kannad. Also Assistant Magistrate and Bhil Agent for the Satmalas.

3rd in command. Headquarters, Nandurbar. Also Assistant Magistrate and Western Bhil Agent.

Adjutant. Headquarters, Dharangaon. Nominally also Assistant Magistrate and Assistant Bhil Agent, but practically in charge of the regimental work of the Corps.

The 2nd and 3rd in command were more occupied by civil than military duties. They had it is true many outposts under them which they inspected. But they were seldom on duty with the battalion as a whole, or with any considerable part of it, on active service.

The above was the theoretical arrangement. As a matter of fact generally there was one or more of the officers sick or on leave, and duties had to be duplicated. In fact, on one occasion in 1844, there being no Adjutant appointed, and Captain Auld having gone on short leave, Captain Morris found himself absolutely alone, and filled the offices of Commandant, 2nd in command, Adjutant, Eastern and Southern Bhil Agent. There is little to be wondered at in his having entered a protest.

After resuming Command of the corps on his return from the Deccan, Captain Morris and his officers appear to have been fully

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occupied in organization, both military and civil. There was a bad season in 1846, when crops failed at least partially. Lieutenant Rose in the west started a legal campaign against the grain dealers, who exasperated the Bhils by selling bad corn at exorbitant rates. His efforts met with no support from Government.

The name of Khaja Sing of the Sindva Pass again comes to notice, for he was seized by a Colonel marching through, and forcibly detained until he shewed some shikar. Khaja Sing considered his treatment to have been most undignified, and protested.

Captain Morris, with ever increasing work in supplying outposts and travelling guards, had a hard fight to keep his corps clothed and supplied. Every indent for supplies was cavilled at or cut down, his right to tents was contested, he was deprived of his camp lascars, in short, the Corps would have been starved to death had the Commandant not contested every point.

Though reports were continually made of the increasing security of the country, the attached report from Lieutenant Rose shews only too clearly that Government were still apprehensive of danger from the Bhils.

SIR,

In reply to your letter No. 1164, dated the 6th instant, requesting my opinion on the Suttana Mamletdar's Kutcherry and its defences, I have the honor to state that I consider the Kutcherry itself to be on a par with the generality of those throughout the Province.

2 The defences of all the treasuries that I have seen are more or less incomplete and defective, including those at Suttana, the new wall surrounding the Kutcherry being too low in some parts especially in rear of the building to present even a moderately effectual barrier against any one desirous of effecting an entry.

3 The wall appears to me to have another great defect in the loop holes having been constructed too near the ground and of an improper size, for from being only breast high outside as well as inside and of dimensions which almost entitled them to the name of embrasures they afford equal, if not greater facilities for attack than for defence.

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4 Happily the occurrence of such an event is most improbable, but if ever a gang of marauders similar to that which plundered the Pimpulnair Treasury, some years back, was to attack the treasure at Suttana, they would be able to hand in arms to the prisoners that might be in confinement (from the position of the prison house air holes or windows, being formed like the loopholes already referred to) or from the outside they could murder every prisoner and pick off with their matchlocks the guard and everyone within the enclosure.

5 As a remedy I would suggest that the present loopholes should be built up, and others opened at such a height in the wall, as would preclude those outside from obtaining except by the use of ladders or other artificial means, a view of the Kutcherry courtyard, while those inside might be enabled to fire through the loopholes by means of a wide step or banquette.

6 The prison air holes would be raised in proportion, but without the step, so as to prevent its inmates conversing with their friends and receiving anything from without, and where the wall is deficient in height it ought to be made higher.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. ROSE, LIEUT.,
Bheel Agent, W. D.

Dhoolia, 10th August, 1847.

Satana is still the headquarters of the Baglan Taluka, and within the last few years the office reported on was still in use, and was noteworthy because the treasure room had a frontage of what appeared to be iron bars, but really were the barrels of old jezails, said to have been captured at Mulher Fort. Probably they were actual relics of Outram's short campaign in 1825.

The detachment of Poona Irregular Horse in the Province had hitherto formed the mounted Police. Theoretically under command of the Colonel at Sirur, the men in Khandesh were responsible for all practical purposes to none but the local civil and military officers,

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for whom they furnished escorts, rode with despatches and did other miscellaneous duties. In all the Bhil Corps campaigns hitherto, a few sowars had accompanied the troops, and had been most useful for purposes of reconnoitring and intelligence. Now, however, it was decided to solidify and concentrate the regiment. All districts were ordered to send in returns of the men of the Poona Irregular Horse serving in their limits, specifying their numbers, stations, and duties. In Khandesh more were employed than anywhere else, owing, as the returning officers stated, to the extent of the Province, the long foreign frontier, and the necessity for frequent field operations. Captain Morris suggested that the horsemen in the Province should be withdrawn from the Poona Irregular Horse, and attached to the Bhil Corps as a mounted troop. But it was decided to place the sowars under an European officer from Sirur. This arrangement was unfortunate, for it caused a body of about 250 men, separated up into small detachments, varying from three to thirty strong, who were generally stationed in places where were already larger infantry detachments, to be under a command entirely independent from that under which the infantry outposts worked. Yet in each small station the Bhil Corps and sowars had to work together. It is a matter for wonder that there were no quarrels between the officers and men. Probably the local knowledge and good feeling of the officers prevented this. But where a combined cavalry and infantry corps might have been so distributed as to serve the outposts without complaint, the division of the two forces produced a series of murmurs from the officers of both, stating the excessive number of outposts to be maintained and relieved, and the impossibility of assembling any quantity of their men at headquarters for instruction.

The anomalous position of the Bhil agents also gave rise to trouble. Civilly speaking, the Eastern, Southern, and Western Agents were all equal as Assistant Magistrates. Yet the first was commandant, and the other two 2nd and 3rd in command of the same corps. Both civil and military duties had to do exclusively with Bhils. It is not surprising that unseemly disputes arose. Long correspondences ensued which only embittered the parties, and references were made to Government resulting in severe wiggings for all concerned. A large part of the files of this period is concerned with

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these quarrels. They are not to the credit of the Corps and are best passed over in silence. An instance may however be given, without mentioning the names of the officers, who were without doubt gallant men and true, and to stigmatize whom is not the object of this book. A Bhil agent was going his rounds, and noticed that a frontier post of importance was in the hands of a Bhil Havildar who was addicted to drink. He wrote to the Collector, saying that the habits of Bhils were well known, and recommending that the post be commanded by a Pardeshi Havildar. The Collector asked the Commandant for his remarks. The Commandant resented his Bhils being called drunkards and asked the Agent (also an officer of the corps) to refrain from addressing the Collector on matters relating to the conduct of men in the corps. The Agent asserted his right of reporting abuses to the Collector, and so the quarrel went on. It resulted in the Agent formally and forcibly cutting his Commanding Officer dead in the house of a mutual friend in Malegaon, and when called on for an explanation, stating that he was acting as a civil rather than a military officer. This paltry affair was reported at great length to Government and a most sensible chastisement was administered to all concerned. The officer was reprimanded for his gross breach of discipline and courtesy, the Commandant for taking undue offence on behalf of the corps at what was meant merely as an honest report of an abuse, and the Collector for not having brought the two parties together at an early stage and so prevented the continuance of a most unseemly squabble.

Looking back over the years, and assuming that only five officers could be spared for the Bhil Agencies and for guarding the Province, it seems as though a better arrangement would have been to place two officers on purely civil duty, and leave the remaining three to manage the forces.

Still, in spite of friction between the Poona Horse and the Bhil Corps, or the Agents and the Commandant, it must not be assumed that the officers were so idle that they had nothing to do but quarrel. Rather it should be said that their distance one from another, involving little conversation and much official correspondence, the hardness of their duties, and the badness of the climate, rendered them more hard and exacting than they would

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have been, had they had a comfortable mess in which to meet every evening, and dissolve their disputes in a friendly glass.

A letter of Captain Morris in 1847, gives a fair idea of the scope of duty exacted from the Bhil Corps.

To.

W. W. BELL, Esqr.,
Magistrate,
Khandesh.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 20th ultimo, No. 1619, calling for information how often the outposts of the Bheel Corps are relieved, I have the honour to offer the following information.

Strength in Privates 760 in 1840, and one post relieved out of 17 posts.

Strength in Privates 775 in 1841, and two posts relieved out of 19 posts.

Strength in Privates 777 in 1842, and five posts relieved out of 20 posts.

Strength in Privates 788 in 1843, and four posts relieved out of 26 posts.

Strength in Privates 788 in 1844, and eight posts relieved out of 28 posts.

Strength in Privates 795 in 1845, and six posts relieved out of 30 posts.

Strength in Privates 987 in 1846, and eight posts relieved out of 27 posts.

Strength in Privates 987 in 1847, and eleven posts relieved out of 41 posts.

I beg at the same time to add that for the last ten years, continual service on the border and elsewhere has called for strong detachments of the corps or more posts would have been relieved. In 1840 operations against the Pimpulnair gang, and in the Daung by Captain Graham; in 1841 operations against Bhamnia Naik on the Nerbudda by Captain Morris; in 1842 operations against Venkat Row's band and Bickaya Bagchand, Naik of Gondkote; in 1843 ditto ditto against Rangya and Chamarya Naiks in 1844 operations

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against Rye Naik of the Dangs and Koor Wassawah and Rana of Boodawal and Scindiah's districts of Yawal and Pachora; in 1845 operations in the Konkan and Deccan; in 1846 operations against Koor Wassawah and Political employ in Borhanpoor. These left no available men for regular reliefs and could scarcely meet the casualties occurring on the numerous posts.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) W. T. MORRIS, CAPTAIN
Commanding Bheel Corps.

DHURRANGAUM
19th December 1847.

The years 1847-1849 produced no active service. Though the Bhil Agents changed, Captain Morris remained Commandant, and Lieut. d'Arcy, Adjutant. Day by day the corps became more like what is now known as armed police, and the Poona Horse detachment more and more resembled mounted police. The Bhils on the frontier were quiet, which was extremely fortunate, for Government entirely ignored the maxim '*si vis pacem, bellum para,*' and in view of the peaceful times began to cut down expenditure on police, while adding to it in other ways. Fourteen new treasuries were opened, each, of course, requiring a guard. Yet the sowars of the Poona Horse were cut down in numbers from 250 to 200, and the Commandant of the Bhil Corps was ordered to entertain no more recruits until his regiment was reduced to the numbers of 1838. Captain Morris stood up manfully for the requirements of the province. He stated that an increase to the corps had been sanctioned for the purpose of garrisoning Sindva Fort, but that the extra men had never gone there, because before they could start, they were requisitioned for other duties. He urged the increase in number of the guards required of him, and the reduction of the sowars, and finally succeeded in getting Government to allow him to keep up his strength. There are many allusions to extra duties. The Sessions Judge made a tour in the province and required a strong guard of horse and foot. The Civil Engineer had a travelling treasure chest and demanded men to guard it. Prisoners were employed in the

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open on public works, and needed to be watched. All these things are matters of commonplace now-days, but were innovations at that time. To supply demands of the kind is part of the regular work of a Superintendent of Police at the present day. In fact, the correspondence of the period shows the regular evolution of the Pax Britannica out of the anarchy of the Peshwa's Government. The Bhil Corps was raised to defend the frontiers against marauding gangs from the hills. Only incidentally was it asked to do police duty in the plains. As the mountain freebooters were reduced, killed, or brought to peaceful pursuits, the warlike duties of the corps diminished, while its routine increased. Sindia's territory in Chopda Yaval and Pachora was annexed, and British Government was introduced into them without even the suggestion of an increase to the Bhil Corps. The small number of men at headquarters available for drill, owing to the increasing outpost duty, is a constant cause of complaint. A long correspondence is recorded as to the unification of police uniform all over the presidency. In this connexion Captain Morris has some interesting remarks as to accoutrements, particularly as to the advantages of cross belts over waist belts.

To

A. ELPHINSTONE, Esqr.,

Magistrate,

Khandesh.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 613 dated 16th May, 1849, forwarding for my report a correspondence from the several Commandants of the Police Corps under this presidency on the subject of a uniform dress and Equipment for the police in general I have the honour to submit the following opinion after an attentive perusal of the whole correspondence which I have appended.

2 The accompanying reports would appear to dwell more on the kind of dress for police corps than enter into details as to the expense of the same, and it will be in consequence difficult to arrive at a comparative estimate of expense of the clothing of them without further references, which I

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do not feel authorized to make as this report has already been long under reply.

3 The statement No. 1 will show the different opinions of the above officers on the dress and equipments which they consider most adapted to the police, and statement No. 2 will show that which I recommend for adoption.

4 The annual average cost of a uniform according to the statement No. 2 will be for each grade as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Shell jacket for Native Officers of sobedars' rifle green cloth, facings black with black silk braid on breast	8	15	4
Shell jacket for Havildars of Havildars' rifle green cloth, facings black with black cotton braid, etc.	5	9	9
Shell jacket for rank and file of privates' rifle green cloth, facings black with black cotton braid, etc.	4	15	0
Rifle green coloured puggree for Havildars ...	0	4	0
Rifle green coloured puggree for rank and file	0	2	0

5 These are the only articles of dress I recommend to be supplied at the Government expense annually; the jacket to be furnished by the Army Clothing Agent, the puggree to be purchased by the Commandants of each Police Corps at the market price, for which they are to submit annual contingent bills to Government.

6 If at the end of the year any of the jackets issued by Government to the men are found to be in good condition and considered likely to last for another year, I recommend that instead of those jackets a pair of dark green cloth pantaloons for wet and cold weather, be indented for by the several Commandants, by which means the men will be gradually supplied with cloth pantaloons without expense either to Government or to themselves, and it would encourage the men to take good care of their clothes. One pair of dark dungaree pantaloons ought to be yearly made at Government expense for the dry season as is the custom at present.

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7 The police of a country, must be in conformity with the ideas of the people and uniformity of appearance not only enhances the character and importance of such a body of men, particularly in India, but it carries the respect of the people with it by evincing the care Government bestow on them.

8 The police must be as much a military body in feeling and appearance as possible. It will make them behave themselves better on ordinary duty, and more dashingly in the field. If these principles are thoroughly established in every Police Corps they will act on emergency with the Regular Army or be able of themselves to preserve the tranquillity of a zillah when the Regular Army is absent on distant service, which must in the present time always be kept in view in India, therefore, both drill, and discipline are absolutely necessary, and must be maintained.

9 It will be perceived in the several opinions expressed by Commandants of Police Corps that the jacket is in as much favour as the Ungrica, the Khandesh, Nuggur, and Ratnagherry Commandants wish for the former, while the Guzerat, Poona, and Concan Commandants are in favour of the latter.

10 It does not matter how a man is dressed when under fire, if he can be distinguished from the enemy, but it does materially signify how men are dressed in marching and manoeuvring over mountains and through jungles; for instance, sportsmen clothe themselves in as close cut jackets and pantaloons as possible when their line of sport is in dense jungles; and with such an example before them, I do not understand why the ungrica should be in so much favor, as the skirts of it are liable to catch and be torn in the jungle and impede the progress of the men.

11 Besides, in a martial police every thing should be in conformity with the character it has to support; and as our national infantry dress is either the jacket or coat, a similar pattern introduced into the police will give them more the appearance of Government servants than an Ungrica.

12 Natives associate the red coat with a disciplined body of Government troops, and a sepoy of the Line seldom travels

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without his red coat or else his regimental cap or some part of his regimental dress, because any one article which assimilates itself to what is in use in regimentals, is a safe guard to him on his journey. So in the police, it secures them the respect which is generally acknowledged and paid by natives to Government servants, and at the same time enables the natives to recognize them as belonging to a particular body.

13 If the Ungrica is preferred because it is easily opened or taken off when marching, I decidedly object to it as unmilitary and destructive of discipline. Police must be either disciplined or not; if the former, maintain it in all its branches or have none at all; half discipline not only ruins the character of good men, but it breeds dissensions and irregularity and turns them into a rabble, and they become useless as sentries, useless on parade, and a curse to the districts they act in, by exacting gratuitous food, etc., from the villagers. Besides, the jacket has the advantage of being the cheaper of the two articles.

14 The opinion about accoutrements is equally divided. The Guzerat, Poonah and the Rutnagherry Commandants are in favour of one belt and a waist belt; the Konkan Commandant wishes only for a waist belt, while the Khandesh and Nugger Commandants are for cross belts.

15 I form my opinion from actual service, and if the other Commandants have been in the field so long or so often as the Khandesh Corps, it rests for Government to decide the question. I am decidedly in favour of the cross belt, and when on service in the Konkan, Nugger and Poona Districts in 1845, I remember in the strong mountains of the Hurree Chunder part of the Syadree Range Captain Simpson of the Nugger Police Corps, who was with me on service, from seeing how much better the Bheels worked than his men and learning from them that it was the difference of accoutrements immediately had his men supplied with cross belts in lieu of the waist belt. This is a recent occurrence.

16 Some years ago I also remember a reference from Government on this subject was made to Captain Graham, my predecessor,

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and he not only supported the system of cross belts, but I believe proved that the plan of cross belts was introduced into Europe in preference to the waist belt, as relieving the soldier of the weight of balled ammunition on his loins, and placing it equally on its proper place, the shoulders.

17 It is argued in the accompanying correspondence that cross belts will only admit of the men sleeping in one position, but if the waist belt portion is taken off, the men can shift the pouch and bayonet belts as they like and still have the belt attached to the body, but a waist belt with its cartridge box and bayonet attached must be taken off to give relief to the person and is then liable to be walked off with altogether and stolen and the wearer of it rendered useless, for natives are so careless as to require to have everything thought of for them by their officers.

18 The sword bayonet appears to be preferred by most of the Commandants and I also think that it is preferable to a common sword, but if the Guzerat police find the sword more adapted to their duties than the bayonet, the sword bayonet can be detached and will answer the purpose of a sword, but if they choose to carry besides another sword of their selection and pattern, they should not be hindered doing so.

19 With regard to shoes or sandals for police men, it does not signify much which is in use as the sepoy can take his proper cadence on parade with one as well as another and in the field both are equally good, though the former is more easily put on and off than the latter.

20 Either cloth or dungaree pantaloons should always be worn except on field service, and even then if it is in the open country.

21 My reasons for the puggaree being the established head-dress of police are assigned in my memorandum of the 3rd November 1848, accompanying this letter.

22 Great coats are equally necessary to Police as to Regular sepoys, to keep them efficient in wet and cold weather, and ought not to be dispensed with on any account.

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23 The weight of the accoutrements of the Bheel Corps complete, that is the pouch and belt, the bayonet and belt, prickers and brush, turn screw and eighteen rounds of balled ammunition is 6 lbs., and by abolishing the cross belts and breastplate the weight will only be reduced to 5 lbs., and one pound reduced in the aggregate weight will not compensate for the strain on the loins on long marches in mountainous warfare.

24 I object to the rule existing in the Regular Army of the pouched bayonet hanging below the loin, because neither can be kept from moving and shaking over hilly ground and making a great noise, but I find short belts with the pouch and bayonet well up on the loin and the waistbelt, fixed as close to them as possible, keeps them steady though it does not look as well. In action by loosening the waistbelt and bringing the pouch round to the front the ammunition can be easily got at, and be readjusted for a forward movement by jerking the pouch into its proper place and clasping the waistbelt on.

25 I think I have now remarked on all the essentials of a police corps dress and accoutrements.

26 The fuzil and bayonet only remain to be noticed, and I think the fuzil should be as light as possible and on the detonating principle with a bore similar to the musket of the Line, so that on emergency ammunition can be supplied from the Regular troops to Police Corps.

27 The bayonet should, as I before remarked, be a sword bayonet without any guard to the handle and it should be attached by a frog to the original bayonet belt.

28 The most positive orders ought to be issued in every Police Corps against selling or giving away old clothing. It should always be returned into store to be made into clothing for boys and recruits. Plunderers often clothe themselves in the cast-off coats of Police corps and commit robberies with them on their backs, which not only injures the good name of the corps but encourages the evil disposed of the corps to rob when on furlough, etc.

29 The Government clothing of all discharged men, deserters and deceased men should be also returned into store. By this

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economy the men can be supplied with coats on emergency, and it will enable pantaloons to be indented for on a larger scale.

30 There ought to be no deductions from the pay of the Native Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of Police Corps except for great coats, sashes, shoes or sandals, and for extra pairs of dungaree pantaloons as required.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
(Signed) W. T. MORRIS, CAPT.,
Comg. Bheel Corps.

Camp Dhoolia, 7th July 1849.

One matter which Captain Morris brought to notice in 1847 was that commissions had never been issued, though often promised, to the volunteers from the Regulars who had been promoted in the Bhil Corps. As a result, the Collector was ordered to issue the commissions. One original commission so issued remains on the files, and is here transcribed. What happened to the grantee, whether he died before it reached him, or was degraded, does not appear.

In the name of the Magistrate of the Khandeish Division of the Zilla of Ahmednuggar under the authority of the Honorable the Governor in Council of and for all Forces and affairs of the Honorable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies within the Presidency of Bombay, etc., and its dependencies.

To all to whom these presents shall come Grecting.

No. 1186 of 1847.

Dhoolia, 13th Aug. 1847.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Honorable the Governor in Council, whose power obtained from the Honorable the Court of Directors of the said United Company derived unto them from the authority of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria and her Royal Predecessors, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage, fidelity and circumspection, you Buldee Sing are by these presents constituted and appointed Sobadar of the Khandesh Bheel Corps under the Presidency of Bombay and to take rank on and from the 12th day of

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April 1839. You are therefore to take upon you the said charge and command and carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Sobadar as aforesaid, by doing and performing all things thereunto belonging, and hereby are the inferior soldiers and officers commanded to obey you as a Sobadar; you following all such orders as shall be given by the constituted authorities or any other your superior officers according to the Rule and Discipline of War or failing therein the presents are to be vacated and annulled by the aforesaid authorities. Sealed with the seal of the Magistrate of aforesaid District and given under my hand in the Magisterial office at Dhoolia, this 13th day of August in the tenth year of the reign of her present Majesty and in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and forty-seven.

(Signed) GEO. INVERARITY,
Acting Magistrate.

In 1849 Capt. Morris addressed a letter to the Collector, wherein he asks for an appointment almost exactly corresponding to that of the modern Superintendent of Police. In 1852 he was actually made Superintendent, and the official style of the Commandant now read Commandant, Khandesh Bhil Corps, Bhil Agent, Superintendent of Police and Assistant Magistrate. What Capt. Morris and his successors secured as Superintendents was official control over the local and village police as well as over their own trained men. His letter detailing his proposals is here appended.

To

A. ELPHINSTONE ESQUIRE,
COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE, KHANDES,
DHOOLIA.

SIR,

A rumour having reached me that Government have it in contemplation to withdraw the Poona Irregular Horse, stationed in Khandes, and that it is intended to employ instead of them a body of Mounted Police, I have the honour to request with

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reference to my past services, not I believe unappreciated by Government, that I may be appointed to command the new Horse Police and be designated as Superintendent of Police in this province.

2 Viewing the little attention that can be paid to the minutiæ of police by the Assistant Collectors, who are sitting Magistrates, and have heavy revenue duties to perform, I would suggest that as I am and long have been, Executive Police Officer in the province, I should be appointed Superintendent of all the Police throughout it.

3 By being appointed Superintendent of Police I propose in addition to the Bheel Corps to have placed under me the command of the Mounted Police in lieu of the present Detachment of the Poona Auxiliary Horse, (if such a body is to be employed) as also all the chowkedars, Rukhwaldars, Village and Town Foujdar Patells and Peons.

4 At present I am supposed to be responsible for the peace of the province in general and to keep a vigilant eye over all the Police, to suppress robbery, plunderings, and all crime. I have hitherto exerted myself as I best could, but I find that my authority requires still to be more defined, for although as Magistrate and Senior Bheel Agent I can superintend all the Bheels and predatory classes in the Northern, Southern and Western Bheel Agencies, I have been supposed by Assistant Collectors and Magistrates to have no business to interfere in their districts with chowkedars, etc., yet, without I have entire charge, it is impossible I can make all work as they should, and I am sure the Assistants have fully enough to occupy them at their desk to prevent their superintending chowkedars, etc., as they require.

5 By the arrangement I am going to propose the appointment in question will not cause any extra expence to be incurred by Government, while it places me in a position to do justice to the duties you expect from me, and make the police much more compact and by the exaction of needful discipline more effective.

6 The expence of the police at present amounts to Rs. 3,36,503-5-3 annually.

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7 The detachment of the Poona Auxiliary Horse costs at present Rupees 1,12,056-0-0 annually.

8 My Mounted Police will cost Rupees 84,912, shewing an annual saving of Rupees 27,144-0-0, and all I ask is that in seasons of scarcity compensation allowance may be extended towards them at the rate granted to the Regular Army.

9 I have altered the usual proportion of Native Officers, etc., attached to a Russallah, because the province calls for a greater proportion of petty officers to meet the duty required of them, such as guards at Mamlatdars' and Mahalkurrees' Thanas. I have therefore provided each Mamlatdar's Thanah either with a Duffadar or Naik, and as the latter is to receive three rupees extra pay, beyond that of a horseman, we may expect that he will be as efficient as a Havildar of the Line at a less cost to Government.

10 I have made the horseman's pay 22 rupees a month, so as to enable a Bargeer to receive a third of it or Rs. 7-5-4, a little more than a Sepoy of the line receives.

11 The Russallah is to furnish its own clothing, arms, and accoutrements, and all extras except ammunition, which is to be indented for from Government.

12 All ranks of this Russallah are to receive pensions for wounds in the execution of their duty and pensions to their families if killed on service.

13 All horses killed on service to be paid for by Government.

14 I have been connected with Russallah affairs for many years past and feel myself quite competent to raise and discipline this body of Mounted Police.

15 Its headquarters are proposed to be at Durrungaum, the headquarters of the Bheel Corps, and by both Foot and Horse Police being together they will be accustomed to act together and there is every reasonable prospect of an unanimous emulation existing between them.

16 I propose the Russallah dress be a blue ungrica with gold lace, trousers blue, Jack boots—with red puggree and cummerbund.

17 The officers to be armed with swords and pistols, the men with swords, spears and carbines.

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18 The accompanying statements No. 1, 2, and 3, will show the pay, dress, and appointments of this body.

19 If this proposition is sanctioned we shall have a permanent body of Horse, who will be well acquainted with the Province, so essential for police and predatory warfare, and the present inconvenience arising from not knowing the country and roads will be obviated.

20 I anticipate if Government should sanction this body soon, to be able to procure men of the respectable families to enlist, but previously I shall require a short time to explain this throughout the province, and then Government will have at their disposal a permanent body of three hundred and twenty instead of as at present only one hundred and ninety light Horsemen.

21 I have stated that the sum that would be annually saved by raising this body of Horse in lieu of the present detachment stationed in Khandes is Rs. 27,144. Of this saving I propose I may have my pay made up to 1,400 rupees, *viz:*, 800 rupees my present pay as Commandant of the Bheel Corps and Bheel Agent with 300 rupees as Commandant of Horse and Superintendent of Police as included in the expence of the Mounted Police. vide Abstract No. 1, and 300 rupees for the political and extra duties I am called on to perform, which will leave a clear annual saving to Government of Rupees 23,544.

22 With this stipend I shall be happy to remain in Khandes, as long as I possibly can and, as I have been so many years in Khandes, I have much more weight in it than a new officer could have, and length of service and experience gained, qualify me I hope to render an adequate return for more liberal consideration.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) W. T. MORRIS,
Bheel Agent.

CAMP MALLIGAUM
30*th November* 1849.

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No important warlike operations were reported between 1849 and 1852. In 1851 a gang from over the border was said to be invading the Akrani, and Lieutenant Kane asked for a detachment, but his request was treated with contempt. Apparently the gang was small and unimportant, for no more is heard of it. In 1852 there was a similar alarm in the south-east which also proved false. Capt. Rose was sent down there at Major Morris' request, to assist him in field operations, but was allowed to return to Kannad in a few days.

In the winter of 1852-53 it seemed as though a general rebellion were likely in the province. Government had ordered that a Revenue Survey be undertaken and several officers were appointed to commence operations. It appears that the inhabitants of the west part of the province submitted a petition to Government, praying that no survey be introduced. Pending the decision of Government on this petition, survey operations were suspended in the west. The survey officers determined to begin work at Savda. It has been remarked before that the people of Khandesh are extremely conservative and averse to innovations. The cry of 'a new custom is being introduced' shouted sufficiently loudly and persistently, and backed by almost any kind of arguments, probable, improbable, or impossible, has always been and now is the easiest method of rousing the worst passions of the people. Such a cry was raised at Savda, and a crowd estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000 persons promptly assembled. They drove away the Survey officers, beat the Mamlatdar, administered strange oaths, and announced their determination to withstand the survey by armed force. Expresses were sent to the Collector and Major Morris, who proceeded to Dharangaon and there awaited the arrival of a regiment from Malegaon. The inhabitants of Erandol seemed to be in sympathy and refused to supply transport. But when the regiment marched in they quickly changed their minds. The Collector and Major Morris marched eastwards with great rapidity, invested Faizpur one early morning, and Savda later the same day. The rioters were completely taken by surprise. Their leaders were captured and their arms confiscated. The troops remained some time at Savda, where order was at once restored and the survey operations were recommenced. In fact, so speedily and

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completely did the people bow to the armed force, that not a blow was struck, and in a few months the Collector was in a position to recommend the release of all except a very few prominent agitators, free pardon being offered to the rest. It is curious that no mention is made in the reports of this bloodless campaign of any part taken in it by the Bhil Corps. The forces, however, were assembled at Dharangaon, and the Commandant led them, so that it is impossible to think that no detachment of the Corps accompanied him.

The remaining years of Major Morris' command produced no serious military operations. The gang robberies and disturbances which occurred were small, and easily quelled by the local detachments. In 1855 Major Morris left the corps, and Captain Rose succeeded as Commandant.

Major Morris had been in the corps for 20 years, and had actually served under Outram. He saw a large increase in its strength, and an expansion and alteration in its duties. In fact, its functions altered from those of a fighting regiment, as organized by Outram, mobile and ready to strike at a moment's notice, but still a regiment, to those of a highly developed body of armed police, scattered in varying detachments over the province, doing its duty well on the whole, but subject to the faults attending on detached duty and infrequent supervision. Only one-fourth of the corps was at headquarters, and the guards, consisting of the remaining three-fourths, were relieved at irregular intervals, and inspected when possible.

The Commandant and Adjutant were also Magistrates and Police Officers, but they concerned themselves chiefly with their regimental duties. As to the 2nd and 3rd in command, they did practically no military duty, and were to all intents and purposes assistants to the Collector for work among the Bhils. They opened schools, repaired roads, superintended forests, and thinned out the dangerous game, and this in addition to heavy magisterial, police, and revenue duties. The introduction of vaccination, and the improvement of the cotton staple were among the various odd jobs to which Captain Rose turned his hand. It is noteworthy that great assistance was given him in building a road up the Ajanta Ghat, and particularly in the unsparing destruction of tigers, panthers, and bears, by Major Gill, the talented officer of the Madras army, who settled

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near Ajanta and made the famous reproductions of the frescos in the Ajanta caves.

It is hardly to be wondered at, considering the semi-detached position of his officers, that the quarrels over disciplinary matters alluded to above should have been frequent and bitter. Major Morris appears, to one casually reading the numerous letters on these topics, to have been somewhat punctilious, apt to pose as a strict soldier, and to put on the airs of "the oldest resident." He cannot be denied, however, the honour of having carried on and completed Outram's work, both as soldier and organizer, and if he seemed unduly touchy and sensitive, it is only fair to him to attribute his attitude to a pride in his regiment.

The Government minute on his services is here reproduced.

MEMO.

Under date the 23rd July 1835, Lieutenant (now Major) W. J. Morris, was appointed Adjutant of the Khandesh Bheel Corps, and confirmed in that appointment on the 27th of the following month. On the 19th May 1841 he was appointed Acting Bheel Agent and Commandant of the Khandesh Bheel Corps and confirmed on the 16th July 1845. Finally on the 3rd September 1852 he was appointed Political Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Khandesh, with an addition to his salary of Rs. 300 per mensem.

2 Major Morris' services have been specially noticed by the Government eight times, once by the Government of India and twice by the Honourable the Court of Directors.

3 This Government complimented him four times, and the Honourable the Court of Directors once for his highly creditable and efficient superintendence of the Bheel colonies in Khandesh, as well as for his judicious and successful arrangements for the education of the sons of Bheel Naiks, and again this Government acknowledged the tact and judgment with which he, in the course of nine months, converted Nowloo Wulud Khusral, a Dhang Raja, to peaceable, industrious and studious habits.

4 This Government, the Government of India, and the Honourable the Court of Directors, severally thanked him for his active and persevering operations against the predatory

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Bheels between the western extremity of the Satpoora Hills and the Nerbudda River in the year 1841.

5 In 1844 and 1846 he was commended by Government, in the first instance for the gallant capture of the strong Ghurree of Wurkheira, and, in the second, for the zeal with which he pursued until he captured the Kover Wussowa of Chickley.

(Signed) H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE,
6th April 1856.

No. 3007.

Orders by H. E. LORD ELPHINSTONE.

This memo. might be incorporated in a resolution conveying the thanks of Government to Major Morris and expressing our regret that the state of his health compels him to relinquish his appointment.

E.—Ap. 56.

Note by a Member of Council.

No. 3,008.

M.'s services as a Police Officer in the Ragogee Bangra affair and in other matters should, I think, be noticed. They were distinguished.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM, AND THE STORM.

CAPTAIN ROSE only officiated in command, for in 1856 Major A. M. Haselwood of the 3rd Native Infantry was appointed Commandant, adding to the already formidable list of his titles that of Political Assistant to the Collector. Captain Rose, however, had continued, before be left command, the summary of measures among the Bhils which Captain Graham had brought down to 1843, as far as the current year. He gives the following striking tribute to the work of the corps.

> The Bheel Corps—upwards of a thousand strong—affords a favourite field for the services and maintenance of such as belong to it; and to the agency of this local corps which is scattered over the province in numerous detachments on police duties and as guards over the different district treasuries (*vide* Appendix No. 1) is mainly to be attributed the state of public good order which is now predominant throughout Khandesh.

Most of his review is devoted to the increase of material and moral well-being among the Bhils, with whom he had been more associated as agent than as regimental officer. One passage is worth quoting, to shed light on the Bhil character. "They display," he writes, "affectionate esteem for gentlemen who have dwelt long among them, and whose character meets their approbation, and they still venerate the name of Outram."

In 1856, after long negotiations, the fort and surroundings of Sindva, which had been considered as part of Khandesh, though lying amidst Holkar's territories, were finally given over to that prince.

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The province was in a state of more profound peace during 1856 and the earlier part of 1857 than had been known for years. So much so, that the officials had nothing better to do than quarrel among themselves. The first of those departmental Inspectors General, of whom there are now so many, proved no more of a blessing to the district officers than most of his successors have done. This was the Commissioner of Police, who was now finding his feet, and beginning to issue orders to the Bhil Corps without reference to the Magistrate and Collector. The matter was sent up to Government, which, fortunately for itself, gave unqualified support to the Collector, and practically told the Police Commissioner to mind his own business. Fortunately, for in Mr. Mansfield the province was blessed with a Collector who had four years' local experience, the confidence of Lord Elphinstone and the trust of his staff. Though a Civilian, he himself superintended the military operations which once started became rapidly more extended. The military officers in charge looked to him for advice and assistance, if not for actual orders. The state and conformation of any part of the Province, its suitability for martial operations, supplies, intelligence of the enemy's movements and strength, all these Mr. Mansfield had at his fingers' ends. He seemed to know instinctively when to begin and when to end an expedition, how to husband his forces, when and where to strike an effective blow. A more apathetic man might have left the soldiers to themselves, a more headstrong might have insisted on taking the field himself. Mr. Mansfield, though by no means restricting himself to headquarters, seemed always to be at the most central place, directing the commissariat, and constituting himself an Intelligence Bureau and generally a mine of useful information.

Major Haselwood was a martyr to dysentery during 1857, so that Mr. Mansfield at one time asked that he might be removed, and that Captain Auld, now at Savantvadi, might be sent for to replace him. Major Haselwood, however, rapidly recovered, and himself took the field in 1858.

During 1857 Captain Birch, 2nd in Command of the Bhil Corps, proved himself an officer of dash, judgment, and ability, and neutralized the ill effects on the corps of Major Haselwood's sickness and inability to work.

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Before proceeding to relate the incidents of the mutiny in Khandesh, it will be as well to take note of a measure, which though it actually took effect late in the autumn, has a bearing on all the subsequent proceedings. It was thought desirable in June or July, to combat the enormous crowds of rebels, Bhils and others, to raise a second Bhil Corps. The nucleus was formed of men from the old corps, and recruits were obtained as quickly as possible and taught the elements of drill. The sanctioned strength of each corps was 1000 of all ranks. A staff of European officers was appointed to each as follows:—

1st Khandesh Bhil Corps—
Commandant: Major A. M. Haselwood.
2nd in Command: Captain H. F. Davies.
Adjutant: Lieut. A. Bell.

2nd Khandesh Bhil Corps—
Commandant: Captain H. Birch.
2nd in Command: Lieut. F. W. Atkins.

These appointments date from 7th October 1857. Some difficulty was experienced in procuring an Adjutant for the 2nd Corps, but Lieut. T. Thatcher of the 11th Native Infantry was appointed in December.

That the mutiny in Khandesh was indirectly set in motion by the terrible events in Upper India is without doubt. That there was direct connexion is extremely doubtful, and that there was any collusion or attempt at united action between the Khandesh outlaws and the mutineers of Upper India is impossible.

The indirect connexion may be inferred from the stories and rumours current over the country, from the arrival of occasional stragglers from the seat of war, and from the visible preparations of Government. The road from Bombay to Upper India divided at Dhulia. It was necessary to cross the Satpuras either at the Sindva Pass, or by way of Asirgadh. Modern maps shew this most plainly, for the Agra road takes the former, and the G. I. P. Ry. the latter route. Officers, men, and stores were continually passing up. Now the Bhils resemble the Irish people in many ways. Improvident and inconsequent, they possess a strong sense of humour. Though it has been shown that they made excellent soldiers, yet it was their tradition to be 'agin the Government'.

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They were also in the condition described as 'spoiling for a fight.' Those whom Government employed were willing and able to fight for Government. Unemployed Bhils preferred fighting against Government to going without a fight altogether. Unlike the Irish, most of them had been but a few years past untamed savages, at war not only with their own recognized Government, but with civilization and humanity generally. The combination of all these characteristics, and the circumstances of the times were no doubt too strong for Bhil equanimity, so that the Bhils yielded to the temptation to take to the hills once more.

Of direct connexion between the Bhils and Upper India there is little proof. Some of the leaders boasted of letters of authority granted by the King of Delhi. The cry of "kill all white men" was reported once in Khandesh. It was even said that the enormous quantity of treasure looted by the Satpura Bhils had been sent through from Bombay on purpose to be looted, and so to finance the Bhils. As to the first statement, Captain Birch rightly argued that probably no single Bhil knew where Delhi was, or had heard of any king there. For listening to the second rumour, an officer of the Bhil Corps was pronounced unduly nervous and remanded to his regiment. The Bombay merchants who were looted were, it was argued, most probably honest dealers in opium, and it was only the guards over their treasure who were either timid, corrupt, or both.

No single recorded action, movement, or correspondence exists to shew any collaboration between the Bhils and the Upper India mutineers. They had ample opportunities of combining with the rebels or communicating with them but seized none. When Tantya Topee came almost as far as the confines of Khandesh, not a Bhil went to join him.

The attitude of the Bhils in fact resembles that of the mad dog in the rhyme.

The dog, to gain some private ends,
Went mad, and bit the man.

Isolated from the general revolt, the Bhils still contrived to give a great deal of trouble, and to cause the expenditure of many men and much money before they were again reduced to submission.

The first active operations took place in the month of June, when news was received that a large body of H. H. the Nizam's

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cavalry at Aurangabad had mutinied, and were descending on Khandesh by way of the Ajanta Pass. Captain Birch was quickly on the spot, and sent the following report :—

From

CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
1ST ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To

MAJOR A. M. HASELWOOD,
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
KHANDESH.

Camp Jamnair, 24th June 1857.

SIR,

A report has just reached me from the Mamlatdar of Edalabad that (700) seven hundred armed men are on their march from Aurungabad to Boorhanpoor. They have not, however, yet reached the Adjunta Ghaut.

I have taken all necessary measures for procuring information of their movements, and shall act as circumstances may dictate.

Should the number of insurgents be exaggerated and not exceed 300 or 400 I shall attack them in the Ghaut. Should they be of the reported strength, I shall be able only to hang on their skirt and to the best of my ability prevent them from looting.

2 There being at present Rupees 23,000 in the Jamnair Treasury, I have taken the liberty of advising the Mamlatdar to forward Rupees 20,000 immediately to Dhoolia, and to call into Jamnair, whatever money may be in the Bodwad Treasury.

3 I am right well satisfied with my men. We arrived this morning, thus, notwithstanding pouring rain, mud and other disagreeables, making a march of (46) forty-six miles in (30) thirty hours.

4 I have taken the liberty of ordering the Foujdar of Jamnair to stand fast pending further instructions from you, and I beg that you will allow him to remain just for the present.

I have the honour to be &c.,

H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,
1st Asstt. Supt. of Police.

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The numbers of these deserters had been much overrated. It was subsequently found out that there were never more than some 30 or 40 of them attempting to get into Khandesh. The matter was, however, looked on very seriously by Government, for a telegram was despatched to Mr. Mansfield as under, and resulted in the orders quoted.

Telegraphic Message—

"Can the Bheel Corps at Dhurrungaum combine with the Ellichpore force to intercept and destroy fugitives from Aurungabad before they cross the Taptee."

"Send Express at Dhurrungaum and Ellichpore."

"The troops at Malligaum should keep fugitives on the Agra Road."

No. 168 *of* 1857.

From

MAJOR A. M. HASELWOOD,

COMMANDING KHANDESH BHEEL CORPS.

To

LIEUT. R. C. KENNEDY,

ADJUTANT, KHANDESH BHEEL CORPS, DHURRUNGAUM.

Camp Malligaum, 25th June 1857.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit for your information a telegraphic message forwarded last night by Government to the Magistrate of Candeish, and to request that you will keep the contents thereof *wholly to yourself* and be prepared to act as circumstances dictate, namely, in intercepting and destroying fugitives from Aurungabad before they cross the Taptee.

2 Further you will have the goodness to take measures for obtaining correct information along the frontier from Adjunta to Edulabad on the River Poorna, and from Edulabad along the whole line of the Taptee in the eastern Districts, reporting instantly by express to the 1st Assistant Superintendent of Police and myself the approach of any fugitives who may attempt to cross the Taptee into this province, and at once proceeding yourself in person with such men as you may consider necessary to intercept and destroy them.

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3 You will have the goodness on receipt of this communication to detach from headquarters the following details to increase the outposts of Seerpoor and Sowda.

To Seerpoor, under the command of Subedar Bappoo, 2 havildars, 3 naiks, 35 privates and 1 bheestee. To Sowda, under the command of Subedar Esree Prussad, 2 havildars, 3 naiks, 39 privates, and 1 bheestee.

4 Ammunition to the extent of one hundred rounds per man with a due proportion of percussion caps to be transmitted with each detail on the bullocks attached to the corps. Instructions for the guidance of the officers in command of the above details will be transmitted to them direct, and a copy of the same fowarded for your information hereafter.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
A. M. HASELWOOD, MAJOR,
Commanding Bheel Corps.

Captain Birch succeeded in rounding up and disarming 22 men at Talegaon near Jamner, but this was all. The comparatively slight danger on the southern frontier was now eclipsed by a much more serious one at Burhanpur and Asirgadh. Captain Birch left Jamner on 4th July and arrived at Raver on 6th morning, another little jaunt of some 45 miles. Two companies of the 19th Native Infantry and two troops of the Nizam's Risala had been ordered to Raver on 2nd, but did not arrive in time. The Bhils had little rest after their long march, for Captain Birch had work for them to do, as his letter quoted shows:—

From
CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
1ST ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To
S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE, KHANDESH.
Camp Rawair, 6th July 1857.

SIR,

I have the honor to submit that I have just received a Report from the Mamletdar of Asseerghur, who is stationed at

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Bahadurpoor (3 miles this side of Boorhanpoor) that a part of the Scindia's contingent belonging to the garrison of Asseerghur, who have been for some time on duty at Boorhanpoor, were recalled to Asseer on the 4th, but that they have returned to Boorhanpoor in a state of mutiny and threaten the town. He further writes that the Soobah has closed the gates of the town and refused to admit them.

2 I march on Bahadurpoor directly the men have had something to eat, and my further operations will of course depend on circumstances.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant

H. BIRCH,
1st Assistant Superintendent of Police.

The little force of Bhils, just one hundred strong, marched on Burhanpoor, arriving there at daybreak. What they did is best told in Captain Birch's own words.

From
CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
1ST ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To
S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE OF KHANDESH.

Camp Boorhanpoor, 7th July 1857.

SIR,

With reference to my letter No. 333 of yesterday's date, I have the honor to report that on my arrival at Bahadurpoor I received a letter from Colonel Le Messurier stating that some of the Scindia's contingent (105) one hundred and five in number were in a state of mutiny outside the walls of Boorhanpoor, and requesting me, should I consider it possible, to try and disarm them. I at once continued my march, arriving at Boorhanpoor at 3 o'clock this morning, and at daybreak having made my arrangements I managed to disarm these mutinous men without a musket being discharged.

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2 I have their arms and ammunition under a strong guard, two of the most mutinous, a Havildar Major and a Naik, are close prisoners, as also 2 of the sepoys of the Soobah of Boorhanpoor, who last night went to the mutineers and informing them of my approach begged them to attack my force ere it reached the city. I attribute my success in a great measure to the strength of my detachment being greatly exaggerated (reports I must own I rather favoured than otherwise) the mutineers having imagined that I had guns in the town ready to open on them should they refuse to lay down their arms.

3 I cannot refrain from bringing to notice the good conduct of my Bheels. They marched from Jamnair to Boorhanpoor in 3 (three) nights and answered to my every order with the greatest willingness.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. BIRCH, Captain,
1st Assistant Superintendent of Police.

This done, more was to follow. There was danger at Asirgadh itself. This is the way in which it was met.

From
Captain H. BIRCH,
Assistant Superintendent of Police,
2nd in Command of Bheel Corps.

To
S. MANSFIELD, Esq.,
Collector and Magistrate, Khandesh.
Camp Asseerghur, 8th July 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to submit that last evening I received reports to effect that the fort of Asseerghur was to be attacked in the night. Knowing that Colonel Le Messurier had *no garrison*, I at 12 o'clock at night marched stealthily out of Boorhanpoor, taking with me all the arms, ammunition, etc., of the mutineers as also the 3 ringleaders. It poured with rain the

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whole night and the road in some places was scarcely passable. I consequently did not arrive till 5 o'clock this morning. No *émeute* took place here although many people, inhabitants of the Fort, having heard these reports fled to the jungle.

I have placed myself and detachment at the disposal of Colonel Le Messurier for garrison duty.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,
Assistant Superintendent of Police,
2nd in Command of Bheel Corps.

It was a hardy little band which had marched 60 miles, in 3 nights, and had immediately gone into action, for of course no one knew that the Burhanpoor mutineers would lay down their arms. But it must have been a most sleepy and weary little band that roused itself at midnight the same day, and proceeded to march yet another 16 miles, through thick jungle and pouring rain, to climb the steep sides of Asirgadh. Its arrival put heart of grace into Colonel Le Messurier, and the arrival of the troops from Malegaon was confidently awaited. They marched in on the 11th and Sindia's troops were disarmed. Captain Birch reports accordingly :—

From
CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
1ST ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To
MAJOR A. M. HASELWOOD,
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
Camp Asseerghur, 12th July 1857.

SIR,

I have the honor to report for your information that yesterday 2 companies of the XIX and the cavalry having arrived, the 200 men of the Gwalior Contingent, formerly part of the garrison of Aseer, were disarmed.

2 Colonel Le Messurier having informed me that he can dispense with my services probably on the 15th instant, I would beg

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that instructions as to my remaining at Rawair or proceeding elsewhere may be furnished me.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) H. M. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,
1st Assistant Superintendent of Police.

This affair may seem a small one, but it should be remembered that Asirgadh was the key to one of the main through routes from Upper India to the Deccan. Had the fort been lost instead of saved, it would have been a most serious matter for the British army. That it was saved is entirely due to Captain Birch and his hundred Bhils. Considering the length of the marches, the weather, and the terrible state into which cotton soil roads get during heavy rain, it is not too much to say that no troops but the Bhil Corps could have marched into Asirgadh with such expedition.

Captain Birch and Lieutenant Kennedy, who had succeeded him at Jamner, were now recalled to Dharangaon, where they were badly needed to consolidate the raw mass of recruits being raised for the new Bhil Corps. Captain Birch's detachment was rewarded with money, and with promotion in the new corps.

The eastern frontier now seemed quiet, and it is to be noted that hitherto no trouble had been experienced from the Bhils themselves. It was not long in coming. Lieutenant Kennedy was sent to the west, where Bhils from Badvani State, under two leaders named Bhima and Mavasya, had assembled for the purposes of plunder. Lieutenant Kennedy marched on their bands, and fought an action, which ended in a retreat, and was considered by the insurgents a victory. Lieutenant Kennedy was himself accused of cowardice. This monstrous charge was abundantly refuted, but it was rightly thought that Lieutenant Kennedy had acted rashly and injudiciously. Instead of defending his own frontier he advanced with insufficient forces a long way into difficult country after an enemy of unknown strength, only to be defeated and turned back. He was pronounced unfit for "Police duty" and remanded to his regiment. Probably the exact nature of the "police duty" of those days, and the distinction between it and military duty, might be made clear by

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comparison with and duties of the Burma Military Police of the present day. That police force is more concerned with defending a disturbed frontier than with the routine usually connoted by "Police duty," and yet, only a few months before, little more had been expected of the Bhil Corps than is expected of the ordinary police of an orderly district to-day. Mr. Mansfield did not care to trust Lieutenant Kennedy with the sole responsibility, but he recognized in him a brave soldier, for he requested him not to join his regiment but to remain in the province and assist in the operations now beginning, purely in his military capacity.

Capt. Birch was sent to Shirpur, Lieut. Kennedy being retained in charge of a detachment at Shahada and Taloda. Capt. Birch was for immediately attacking the rebels, who were reported about 800 or 900 strong. He asked that Lieut. Kennedy's party, and 100 men from Dhulia might be sent to him. Mr. Mansfield was apparently of the same opinion, for he telegraphed very decidedly on 8th September.

No. 3.

ELEC. TEL. OFFICE, SEERPOOR.

8th September, 1857.

From Malligaum, Tuesday, 8th September 12-0 *afternoon.*

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,
SEERPOOR.

From

Mr. MANSFIELD.

"Send for Kajee Sing and ascertain from him if any bodies of Burwanee Bheels are encamped on the frontier of the Thalnair Talooka, and if they are the same lately attacked by Lieutenant Kennedy or different parties, or ascertain the possibility of attacking them and marching through the part of the country they are encamped in into the Sooltanpoor Talooka. The object of your going to Thalnair and Sooltanpoor is to prevent for the present incursions of the Burwanee Bheels into those districts which can only be effected by *inflicting* on them serious loss."

The reinforcements, however, were not sent, and Capt. Birch occupied his time in visiting frontier villages, and securing those

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Bhils who were suspected of being in league with the enemy or of withholding information from the authorities. The delay was fatal, for the warden of the pass, the protector of the Agra Road, the nominee and protegé of Outram, yielded to temptation and joined the rebels with 200 followers. He henceforward becomes the most dangerous enemy of Government, well knowing that he had little chance of his life if caught. Capt. Birch actually interviewed Khaja Sing on the day on which he rebelled, and was put off by promises. The history of the next few days is graphically told in a series of telegrams and a letter from Capt. Birch, here reproduced.

From Seerpoor, Wednesday, 7th October 1857.

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

MALLIGAUM.

To

Mr. MANSFIELD.

"Last evening Mahadoo Naik and Owchit Naik with about two hundred men came from the Scindwah side to Sangvee Kajee Sing's station; and I have just received news that Kajee Sing with these and other two hundred that he has collected has gone off. He told my Subedar that he was going to Holkar and would hereafter forward a petition and threatened to shoot him if he came near. I have however little doubt that he will join the gang under Bheema Naik.

I have sent to Dhoolia for one hundred men and request your sanction to the same.

I beg some Sowars may be sent. I shall at once take measures for guarding the ghaut.

8th October 1857, *Seerpoor.*

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

To

Mr. MANSFIELD.

"I have just returned, having followed up Kajee Sing beyond our boundary; he is with at least five hundred men near the Jamnia Chowkee beyond the ghaut, consequently three koss

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beyond our boundaries; he has cut the telegraph wire in many places.

The post from Mhow has not arrived, so I fancy it must have been stopped, and the post to Mhow is about to be sent via Asseerghur.

I beg that I may be furnished with instructions as to my further proceedings."

1 *A. M. Thursday, 8th October* 1857.

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

To

Mr. MANSFIELD,

MALLIGAUM.

"Last evening Kajee Sing with between four and five hundred men looted Pullasneer, carried off the dawk horses and broke the telegraphic wire in 2 places. Mahadoo Naik of Nandeir Chowkee and Dowloo Naik of Jamnia, both of the Scindwah side, have joined him.

I think it would be well if a company of Regulars were stationed here for a short time. I should then with my Bheels be able effectually to guard the Ghaut. I sent off express to Dhoolia last night for one hundred men.

E. T. OFFICE SEERPOOR,
8th October 1857.

From Malligaum, Thursday 8th October 1857, *Six A. M.*

From

Mr. MANSFIELD,

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

"I have sent off an express to Colonel Durand via Asseerghur and hope Holkar will send off a force immediately to co-operate. However, when the company of the nineteenth and the Bheels and Sowars from Dhoolia arrive and you have a chance of attacking Kajee Sing I should not hesitate to do

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so. However you are on the spot and can form a better judgment than I can and therefore I give you *carte blanche* to do what you think best. With two hundred Infantry and fifty Cavalry you ought to beat any number of Bheels in the plain. I would not follow them into the Hills until you receive reinforcement from Holkar and the Rajah of Burwany; the latter is planning an expedition against Bheemia Naik. I have no doubt that Kajee Sing if hard pressed will join him. You must have a large party in Seerpoor.

To

Mr. BELLINGTON,

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

Kajee Sing Naik with three other Naiks of the Scindwah side have thrown themselves into a small fort on the ghaut two koss beyond our boundaries, 13 koss from Seerpoor. They are above eight hundred strong, all the Bheel Chowkedars have joined and Bheels from all sides are flocking to him. Amongst them are about one hundred and fifty matchlockmen, eighty of whom are Musalman.

The dâk did not arrive yesterday from Mhow so must have been stopped. They have looted the village of Pullusneir, and cut the telegraph wire in two or three places, ten koss from Seerpoor. I yesterday followed them up beyond our boundaries.

The day before yesterday I telegraphed to Mr. Mansfield that for the proper protection of Seerpoor and the road up to our boundary limits 11 koss, I required a company of Regulars and one hundred Bheels from Dhoolia; also Sowars making up the number to fifty. I have received an answer that these will be sent. But I have now telegraphed to him that as these rebels command the entire ascent of the ghaut, and have possession of this fort, an attacking force to manage matters effectually ought to be at least four hundred strong also that in my opinion Artillery in the shape of a couple of light guns are necessary—whether to attack or to guard our Zillah. I think an addition of fifty Sowars would be most desirable.

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To

Mr. MANSFIELD.

Kajee Sing has thrown himself into Bhoreghar Fort two koss from our frontier. Bheels are flocking to him from every side; three hundred more have joined him, making eight hundred.

Amongst these are one hundred and fifty Matchlockmen, eighty of whom are Musalman and thirty our Bheel Chowkedars. Some of Bheemia Naik's men have joined him, and I hear the whole gang are about to do so.

They command the ascent of the ghaut, and the fort, although small, is of stone and very strong.

I consider an attacking force should be at least four hundred strong with the addition of Artillery in the shape of two light guns—of course it would be most desirable that Holkar should send a force to co-operate, as escape would be prevented.

I hear the Barwany Rajah's Dewan has mutinied.

Whether for attack or for patrols other fifty Sowars besides those you are about to send would be very desirable.

E. T. Office Seerpoor, 9 October 1857.

From Malligaum, 9 October, Friday, 4·58 Evg.

From

Mr. MANSFIELD,

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

Have you been inside the fort of Bhoreghur, is there a gate to it that can be closed and is there water in it.

7-30 *Evening, Camp Seerpoor, 9th October,* 1857.

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

To

Mr. MANSFIELD,

MALLIGAUM.

Words, 74 S. R.

I have never seen Bhoreghur. I have however made every enquiry. The gate is broken but is capable of very stout defence, even

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not taking into consideration the ascent of the ghaut. There is no water in the fort but close by to the rear and right. If you think it necessary and order me I will attack them, as no further reinforcements can be given, with the two hundred men coming from Dhoolia.

From

POLICE COMMISSIONER,

POONA.

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR, KHANDESH.

Telegraph to me immediately what happens near you. What assistance needed. Are more patrols of Horse required. How far beyond Seerpoor is the line cut.

G. T. Office Seerpoor, 9th October, 1857.

Seerpoor G. T. Office, 9th October 1857.

From

POLICE COMMISSINOR,

POONA.

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

Received your message. I wish you had sent it sooner. Your position is one of difficulty but I believe the Commander-in-Chief will direct aid to be pushed on to you at once, in fact I am sure of it. Telegraph daily. You will do your duty, do not attempt more. We have lost the best man in the department in a most gallant but rash attempt against ten to one.

G. T. Office Seerpoor, 9th October 1857.

From

POLICE COMMISSIONER,

POONA.

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR, CANDESH.

Cheer up you must not get sick now you are in orders. Commandant of the Second Battalion of the Bheel Corps. Telegraph reply yesterday's message.

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Seerpoor, G. T. Office 9th October 1857.

From Malligaum, Friday 9th October, 3-55 Afternoon.

From

Mr. MANSFIELD,

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

There are only two hundred of the 19th yet in Malligaum for duty and though another company is warned for service it cannot be spared. There are no more Sowars in Candesh available. As for Artillery there is none of sufficient calibre in Malligaum to breach a wall, but a gate of a fort of even much greater strength than Bhoreghur could be blown in with a bag of fifty pounds of gunpowder. I can't help thinking that the numbers you mentioned as having joined Khajee Sing are very much exaggerated, but if they are not they will soon be obliged to disperse to obtain the means of subsistence.

Major Orr's force left Edulabad on the fourth instant for Mhow and I have no doubt Colonel Durant despatched a considerable force against these Bheels.

You must take care whatever you do not to allow Kajee Sing to double back either to Seerpoor or Choprah.

The Company of the Nineteenth left Malligaum yesterday and one hundred men of the Bheel Corps left Dhoolia also yesterday. Tell the Mamletdar to have boats assembled on the Taptee to enable troops to cross quickly. I don't suppose Major Hazelwood will be able to send you any more Bheels.

Camp Seerpoor, 10*th October* 1857, 6-30 *Morning.*

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,

POONA.

Mr. Mansfield has telegraphed that no more troops can be spared. I have answered that as no reinforcements can be

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given should he consider it necessary and order it I will attack the Rebels with the two hundred men when they arrive. Another Bheel village five koss from this has been deserted, and all the Bheels gone over to Kajee Sing. I hear another band is forming to the North East of Shadah.

I hear the Barwany Rajah's Dewan has mutinied and is raising troops. If true he will no doubt join one of these bands.

Nothing of moment has occurred.

Camp Seerpoor, 10th October 1857. 9 Morning.

From

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

To

Mr. MANSFIELD,

MALLIGAUM.

All the Bheels of Bolarie Korreta and Roomkhera have gone over to Kajee Sing above one hundred. I hear for certain that Bheemia Naik with his gang joined him yesterday. The Mamletdar of this place informs me that he suspects all the Musalman Revenue Peons will do so. I have sent off express to Major Haselwood to send some men to guard Choprah in case the enemy should go round by the Scindwah side for attack. They can't get there from this side without my knowledge as I have pickets out.

No men have yet arrived from Dhoolia. I hear that two bands have formed to the north and north east of Shadah.

From Bombay, 10th October, Saturday, 10-40 Morning.

From

LORD ELPHINSTONE,

To

CAPTAIN BIRCH,

SEERPOOR.

I have seen your message of to-day to the Police Commissioner in which you say you have asked Mr. Mansfield whether you should attack the Bheels with the two hundred men. I don't

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wish you to attack them but watch them until further reinforcements reach you.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Mansfield to send all he can to you.

From

CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
KHANDESH.

To

S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
MAGISTRATE,
KHANDESH.

Camp Seerpoor, 12th October, 1857.

SIR,

I have now the honor to report in detail all circumstances attending the defection of Kajee Sing Naik of Sangwee. On the evening of the 6th instant I received a report that Mhadoo of Nandeir Chowkee and Dowloo of Samnia Chowkee both Bheel Naiks of the Scindwah side, with two hundred men had come to Sangwee on a visit to Kajee Sing. At dawn I started for Sangwee, and had an interview with these naiks. They informed me that they had come to see their relation, Kajee Sing, as also to pay their respects to me. I represented to Kajee Sing that it was not desirable that so many men should remain in our districts, and I hoped they would return the same day to their own Chowkee ; he told me such was their intention and that he was about to give them something to eat and send them away.

I left a Russaldar and a few Sowars at Sangwee with orders to report in the evening as to whether they had left Sangwee or not. I further took measures to ascertain that they went beyond our territory.

In the evening I received a report that the Naiks had left Sangwee but that Kajee Sing had gone with them saying that he was about to visit Holker Sirdar, and that when my Subedar (on duty at Sangwee) had told him he had better not go without leave he had threatened to shoot him. I immediately sent off some men to Sangwee, intending to follow them upon horseback and sent off express to Dhoolia

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for one hundred men. Shortly before one o'clock A. M. I received a report that Kajee Sing had looted Pullusnair Gaum, I started at once with a few Sowars and followed him up to about a mile beyond our Territory. I found that Kajee Sing and the above mentioned Naiks had looted Pullusnair in the evening—carried off the Dak Horses, cut the Telegraph in three places and were then at Jamnia (three koss beyond our boundaries) with five hundred men numbered amongst whom were about eighty Mussulman Purdasees, etc., and thirty-four Ghaut chowkeedars. I further ascertained that Oomed Sing and Samjee Naik had joined the band. I stationed a picket of the Bheel corps at Pullusnair supported by a weaker one at Kurwan, further I distributed the remaining chowkeedars as I thought best.

The following morning I found that Kajee Sing had thrown himself into the Fort of Boreghur, a small but strong stone fort on the top of the Ghaut, also that he had been joined by other three hundred Bheels, the greater number of whom were from the Scindwah side and many from our neighbouring villages—his position was well chosen and one of great strength as he commanded the whole ascent of the Ghaut.

I consequently strengthened the picket at Pullusnair and advanced the one from Kurwun to Sangwee filling their place with a number of chowkeedars. I also sent out Sowars to patrol the road as far as my out picket and wrote off express to Major Haselwood to send a guard out for the better protection of Choprah.

On the 10th Instant it was reported to me that more Bheels from the villages about had joined Kajee Sing. The Mamletdar also expressed his doubts as to this loyalty of the Musulman Peons in Seerpoor. In the evening I found that the Rebels had left the Ghaut and had gone off to the North West in the direction of the Punch Samba Hills. A reinforcement of one or two hundred men from Dhoolia having arrived I yesterday advanced my men to Boreghur Fort evacuated by the enemy and sent out more Horse to Patrol the road between Pullusnair and Scindwah six koss beyond our territory.

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2 The strength of the enemy is (including all castes) as near as I can ascertain between eight and nine hundred. I have been informed that Bheemia Naik with his gang has joined Kajee Sing but I am inclined to doubt the truth of this statement.

3 Although in consequence of Kajee Sing's attempt to raise a large body of men as reported by me to Major Haselwood on the 24th ultimo and on the 30th ultimo, and 2nd Instant to yourself I had my suspicion that his intentions were not loyal, still without some good proof of the same I did not feel justified in, on my own authority, taking any decided steps. Had I for an instant imagined that he was likely to break out into open rebellion I should have long before arrested him reporting the same to you.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,
Assistant Superintendent of Police.

It would seem as though Lord Elphinstone's prudence were excessive, and that had Captain Birch, sick as he was, been allowed to attack Khaja Sing at once he would have found him strong perhaps in numbers, but with no organization. Probably a large part of his hastily assembled levy would have repented, if taught a severe lesson at this early stage. As it was, the rebels were emboldened by the want of action by the troops. Khaja Sing joined Bhima, who only a few days later began to loot in Khandesh West of the Agra Road.

It may be casually mentioned that the disaster alluded to by the Commissioner of Police was the death of Lieutenant Henry, Superintendent of Police, Ahmednagar, who was killed while attacking Bhagoji Naik. This rebel had gathered a gang and was holding the hills between the present districts of Ahmadnagar and Nasik. Troops were out against him, but he was extremely elusive. More than once there were rumours of his intending to attack Khandesh, either by way of the Sahyadris or the Satmalas. These rumours, while they caused anxiety, fortunately never materialized to any very serious extent.

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On Mr. Mansfield's arrival at Shirpur, he endeavoured to make Khaja Sing 'come in.' To those who do not know Bhils, this phrase may seem odd. It has always been recognized, that one of the best ways of redeeming outlawed Bhils and of restoring order, is to offer to their leader a conditional pardon. Even if the whole of his former possessions, rights and privileges were not offered to be restored, at least peace and the means of livelihood might be laid before him. While not treated exactly as the Prodigal Son, he was at any rate not offered mere husks. Such has been the faith of the Bhils in the British Government, that many an one has 'come in' to the offers, knowing that his life and honour would be safe. On October 18th Captain Birch telegraphed "Nothing further occurred, Khaja Sing has put off coming in till to-morrow." Next day it was "Nothing of importance to report. Khaja Sing has not yet come in." The same on the 21st. On the 22nd, after detailing some looting, Captain Birch telegraphs "Khaja Sing has positively refused to come in. Mr. Mansfield has telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone for troops to protect the frontier." On the 23rd "Almost certain that Khaja Sing has joined Bhimya Naik."

A letter from Mr. Mansfield to Government of 2nd November, here transcribed, gives a clear idea of the state of things in the Province. It also shews Mr. Mansfield's sound judgment as to present needs, both military and civil. At that time few would have dared to suggest the separation of revenue and magisterial functions.

From

S. MANSFIELD, Esq.,

MAGISTRATE OF CANDESH.

To

H. L. ANDERSON, Esq.,

SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, BOMBAY.

Secret Department.

SIR,

In continuation of my letter No. 1725 of 30th ultimo I have to report that two (2) villages within six (6) miles of the place I am writing from were plundered yesterday by Khaja Sing,

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Bheema and other Naiks. Another village in the Sooltanpur Talook has been plundered by one Rumalla Naik.

2 I have also received intelligence by telegraph that a band is assembling on the border of Khandeish and Ahmednuggur Zillahs in the Patoda Talooka of the latter, and four hundred of the Sinnur Bheels are supposed to be making for Khandeish.

3 From the assemblage of so many separate bands for plundering it is evident that the whole Bheel population are in insurrection and most stringent measures are required to put them down.

4 Being duly impressed with the very serious state of things I have taken upon myself the responsibility of ordering a large number of peons to be raised in each talooka in proportion to its size and proximity to the disturbed districts. The principal object of this measure is to relieve the different parties of the Bheel Corps which are stationed at the different tannas to admit of their being employed in military operations against the insurgents in the hills as they are by far the most useful troops for this description of warfare.

5 The total number of peons to be raised will be between one thousand and twelve hundred, and they must be retained until the bands are dispersed or until the 2nd Kandeish Bheel Corps becomes ready for active duty, which I do not think can be the case for eight (8) months to come.

6 I calculate that after the posts of the Bheel Corps are relieved by the peons seven hundred (700) of the former will be available for military duty.

7 The extent of the country in which operations must be conducted is so extensive that I am decidedly of opinion that not less than one full regiment of N. I. exclusive of the detachments stationed at Malligaum and Dhoolia should be in Candeish ready for field service in two (2) months from this date, which would enable the Commanding Officer to have five or six different parties of sufficient strength to enter the hills at different points and beat down all opposition.

8 These arrangements, however, will be insufficient unless co-operation is given by Holkar or the Honourable Company's native troops from Mhow to prevent fugitives escaping.

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9 In addition to the above troops, I would recommend four (4) light field pieces capable of being used in the hills being sent. This is a suggestion of Major Haselwood and should I think be acted on.

10 There are at present about one hundred and seventy sowars in Candeish, and I would strongly recommend that two hundred more be sent. They are of little or no use in the hills, but they are very effective in keeping the whole country quiet.

11 With the object of making the police more efficient I have modified the present arrangements. At present the Mamletdar is only nominally the head of the police. I have made him the real one. All over India the officer, whether European or Native, who has revenue management of the district is the person who has most weight in it. From having in his power to serve the interests of the tax-paying classes, he is naturally looked up to by the whole population. Everybody is anxious to gain his favour and ready to assist him with information and by every other means. Till within the last four years the officers of Head Revenue and Head Police officer have been united in one person for centuries and the people have not yet become reconciled to the separation of the two. Being therefore convinced that the police of the country will be much more efficient under the Mamletdar. I have placed the Foujdar, his peons and the newly raised peons under him, and have told him I shall hold him personally responsible for the police of his district, that he must himself go and investigate all cases of serious crime and only delegate the inquiry into minor offences to the Foujdar, and that his revenue duties, if he cannot perform both, must be performed by his Head Carkoon. Of course he will be subject to the orders of the Superintendent of Police.

12 I consider this arrangement of the last importance in the present state of affairs, and I sincerely hold His Lordship in Council will approve of it.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

S. MANSFIELD,

Magistrate.

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In November Captain Birch appears to have been compelled to take a few weeks' leave for his health's sake. He returned in December, and received this telegram from the Police Commissioner. "Delighted to hear you have returned successfully. You will polish the natives." The last sentence is ambiguous, but expressive. Can the Telegraph Department at so early a stage of its existence have already learned so much of the fine art of 'mutilation' as to evolve 'polish' out of 'punish'?

January was occupied in convoying siege trains and supplies through the hills on the way to Mhow. One convoy was attacked, but without loss, owing to the promptitude of Captain Birch's Bhils.

From

CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,
BHEEL AGENT.

To

S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
MAGISTRATE OF KHANDESH.

Camp Soolwanah, 24th January 1858.

SIR,

I have the honour to report for your information that on 20th instant near Jamniar Kaja Naik with about two hundred men attacked the ammunition carts belonging to and following the Siege Train.

2 The rebels suddenly rushed into the road, planted a standard and endeavoured to remove some of the boxes, shells, etc. The escort, however, being on the alert they were almost immediately driven back and loss of no kind incurred.

3 Some few of the enemy were wounded but carried off by their comrades.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,
Bheel Agent.

In December 1857 a large quantity of treasure was looted in the pass, and enquiry was made as to whether this treasure was sent up for the purpose of being looted, that is, in order to assist the

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rebellion. No evidence to that effect was obtained, but Capt. Birch's report on the subject is instructive.

From

CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,

COMMANDING 2ND KHANDESH

BHEEL CORPS.

To

A. BETTINGTON, ESQUIRE,

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

Camp Seerpoor, 15th March 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement, dated 25th February last, forwarding for my information a letter from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and calling for any further information obtained regarding the plunder of treasure near Scindwah.

In reply I beg to submit that nothing elicited in evidence tends to prove that any collusion existed between the Guard in charge of the treasure, and persons residing in Bombay, still that prior to the attack some understanding had been come to between the said Guard and the plunderers, no doubt can exist in as much as (although numbering about three hundred) immediately on the appearance of the Bheels, they not only laid down their arms, but shared in the loot.

2 Of the three hundred (167) one hundred and sixty-seven were shortly afterwards apprehended, and property to amount of rupees (62,630) sixty-two thousand six hundred and thirty recovered.

Moreover they were brought to trial by Sir Robert Hamilton and one hundred and sixty-two sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for the space of (14) fourteen years.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,

Commanding 2nd Khandesh Bheel Corps.

A few days after this report comes another, dated 5th April. The achievement reported was a great one, and received as it deserved

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the thanks of Government. The list of property discovered is most instructive. Opium is only 1/160th of the whole, but French coins form apparently a large part. It is at least a curious coincidence that Government had been circulating descriptions of several French officers who were reported to have landed in India with the intention of volunteering their services as officers to the mutineers. Was there a dream in their minds of revenge on the English and of the re-establishment of French predominance in India?

From

CAPTAIN H. BIRCH,

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To

MAJOR A. M. HASELWOOD,

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,

KHANDESH.

Camp Pursood, 5th April 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to report that yesterday I with (50) fifty of the Bheel Corps and (12) twelve Poonah Horsemen proceeded into the jungle for the purpose of tracking up the rebel Bheels under Kajee Sing Naik and came on to their encampment some (3) three miles from this.

2 It was apparent that they had only left the hiding place a few hours and had retreated in great haste. I followed them up for some distance in a north-western direction, and my impression is that they have proceeded to Amba Pawnee to join the band under Kaloo Bowa and other rebel leaders.

3 I searched the jungle for some distance round their encampment and discovered hidden in the river and buried under ground in the different nullahs property amounting in value to about Rupees (80,000) eighty thousand consisting of bars of silver, five franc pieces, etc. I further recovered (22) twenty-two head of cattle, great quantities of grain and about (500) five hundred rupees worth of opium.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. BIRCH, CAPTAIN,

Assistant Superintendent of Police.

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This property was distributed as prize-money. The Royal Proclamation on the subject is here reproduced.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith. To all to whom these presents shall come. Greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us by the Commissioners of of Our Treasury, that, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, certain Bheels, inhabiting the province of Khandeish, in Our East Indian Dominions, rebelled and levied war against Us and our authorities and that steps were taken on Our behalf to suppress and put down such rebellion And whereas, during the proceedings had and taken for that purpose, Lieutenant-Colonel Evans commanded the Satpoora Field Force, which force was composed of a party of the District Police and of regular Troops and whereas the said party of Police, under the command of Captain Birch, Superintendent, captured in the months of April and May in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight in the neighbourhood of a place called Pulsood, in Indore, Booty, consisting of bars of Silver, Gold, and Silver Coins and ornaments, which has realized the sum of one hundred and seventeen thousand and ninety-three rupees, or thereabouts And whereas Our said Commissioners have recommended unto Us to grant all the said booty for the use of the aforesaid Force of Regulars and Police, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Evans and to give such directions as to the appropriation and distribution thereof as to Us should seem fit, to which We are graciously pleased to condescend,

Now We do hereby give and grant to Our Secretary of State for India in Council, for the time being, all the aforesaid booty and proceeds, in trust for the use of the aforesaid Force, Regulars and Police, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Evans, such booty to be distributed by Our Secretary of State for India in Council for the time being, or by any person or persons he may appoint for that purpose in the following proportions, *viz.*, to the said Lieutenant-Colonel

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Evans, one-fortieth part of the said booty and proceeds, and the remainder of the said booty and proceeds to be distributed amongst the subordinate officers and men, belonging to the Forces, which took active part in the aforesaid operations in the following proportions, as far as the same may be applicable to the several ranks of officers and men engaged therein, such scale and proportions being settled and determined and fixed by and according to the calculation of the day's pay of each rank, and being in the proportion of one share for each shilling of such day's pay, videlicet; Majors, sixteen shares each; Captains, twelve shares each; Lieutenants, first class, after seven years' service, seven shares and a half each; Ensigns, five shares and a half each; the shares of officers in command of Regiments to be double the amount of the shares attached and accruing to them, according to the day's pay of their Regimental Rank only; staff Sergeants, three shares each; Color Sergeants, two shares and a half each; Sergeants, two shares each; Corporals, one share and a half each; Privates, one share each. All officers on the Divisional, Personal and General Staff to be allowed shares according to their staff pay, added to the half of their respective ranks. Regimental Staff Adjutants, ten shares each; Quartermasters, six shares and a half each; Assistant Surgeons, ten shares each; together with any additional shares to which they or any of them may be entitled in virtue of additional pay for length of service.

And We are graciously pleased to order and direct, that in case any doubt shall arise in respect to the distribution of the booty or proceeds, hereby granted as aforesaid, or respecting any claim or demand on the said booty or proceeds, the same shall be determined by Our Secretary of State for India in Council for the time being, or by such person or persons to whom he shall refer the same, which determination thereupon made shall, with all convenient speed, be notified in writing to the Commissioners of Our Treasury, and the same shall be final and conclusive to all intents and purposes, unless within three months after the receipt thereof at the office of the Commissioners of Our Treasury, We shall be pleased otherwise

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to order; hereby reserving to Ourselves to make such order therein as to Us shall seem fit.

Given at Our Court at Rheinhardtsbrunn, this second day of October, in the twenty-sixth year of Our Reign and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

By Her Majesty's Command,
(Signed) E. H. KNATCHBULL HUGISSON
LUKE WHITE.

By this time a considerable force, over 2,000 strong, was collected in the Satpuras, under command of Major Evans. The loss of his camp and treasure appears to have exasperated Khaja Sing, and he determined to fight. His main body was on a hill called Amba Pani, but he had detachments at some distance. Major Evans was surrounding him; and had three columns closing in on him from various directions. A concerted plan of attack was drawn up, whereby the rebels were to be completely surrounded, and made to surrender or cut down. The want of knowledge that a rebel detachment existed defeated the entire completion of this plan, but still the results were sufficiently satisfactory. The action at Amba Pani is best described in Major Evans' own words.

From

MAJOR EVANS,

COMDG. SATPOORA FIELD FORCE.

To

THE QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL OF THE ARMY,

Camp Amba Pawnee—12*th April* 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that soon after my arrival at Burwanee I ascertained that Bheemia and Mowassa Naiks had absolutely no intention whatever of submitting to terms, and that their only object in negotiating was to gain time.

2 I therefore determined on attacking them on the morning of the 11th instant, as also Kajah Sing, Owchit Sing and Kaloo Bhowa, who I learnt were encamped with them.

3 With this view I issued orders to Captain Sealy to march on Daba Bowrie, situated to the eastward of Amba Pawnee, on the morning of the 10th, and for the detachment under his

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orders, that under Captain Langston, which was then at Pursool, and the headquarter detachment at Burwanee, to leave their respective camps at daybreak and to join in a simultaneous attack from the north, south and east on the enemy's position on the morning of the 11th instant.

4 As mentioned in my former letter Burwanee is to the north and Pursool to the south of Amba Pawnee.

5 The chiefs with three thousand followers consisting of Mackranees and Bheels took up their position on the summit of a narrow and steep range of hills, the top of which afforded excellent shelter owing to their being crowned with rocks and huge stones.

6 My own detachment and Captain Langston's attacked simultaneously from front and rear at about 8 a.m., strength as per margin.

Troops engaged 11th April 1858.
Head quarters Detachment.
45 Poona Horse.
210 Headquarters Wing 9th N. I.
60-4th Rifles.
110-Bheel Corps.
2—4⅘ Mortars.
Right Detachment.
Captain Langston.
58 Poona Horse.
236 Left Wing 9th N. I.
58-4th Rifles.
70-Bheel Corps.
2—4⅘ Mortars.

Both columns advanced with much spirit and circling round the enemy's left flank attacked from three sides.

8 The troops were soon on the summit of the range, where a determined resistance was offered under cover of the rocks, especially by the Mackranies, who here fought desperately, and it was not till 3 p. m. that the hills were cleared of them.

9 Many of the enemy escaped early from the right of the position owing to the unaccountable non-appearance of Captain Sealy's detachment, which up to the present moment I have not heard of. The only surmise I can make as to that detachment not having come up, is that it may have met with resistance on the road.

10 The approaches to the enemy's position excepting from the South are most difficult; that from the north was scarcely practicable. The detachment of the Poona Horse was

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ultimately placed so as to prevent escape from the right flank, and the enemy were completely surrounded and their entire position gained.

12 The enemy could not have lost less than one hundred and fifty, killed. The number of wounded is unknown. Sixty-two men were taken prisoners, out of which fifty-seven have been shot by sentence of a Drumhead Court Martial. About two hundred women and children have also been taken prisoners. I enclose a list of casualties.

I have, etc.
H. W. EVANS, MAJOR,
Comdg. Satpoora Field Force.

Further particulars will be sent hereafter.

From

MAJOR EVANS,
COMDG. SATPOORA FIELD FORCE.

To

THE QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL OF THE ARMY,
BOMBAY.

Camp near Silawad, 14th April 1858.

SIR,

With reference to my hurried report dated 12th instant, informing you of the entire defeat on the 11th instant of the insurgent chiefs at Amba Pawnee, where a large number of their followers were attacked by a portion of the Field Force under my orders, and driven from a strong and well chosen position, the approaches to which, excepting from that point they had reason to believe inaccessible, I have now the pleasure to express to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief how much I feel indebted to the whole of the officers and men of all arms engaged, for the very gallant and spirited manner in which they commenced and followed up the attack and in spite of intense heat, unsatiated thirst and an obstinate resistance of seven hours' duration, obtained complete possession of the enemy's stronghold.

2 The co-operation throughout was complete and both officers and men materially contributed to the success of the day, by displaying much coolness and intelligence as well as courage.

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3 As an instance which fell under my own observation, I beg to bring to notice the conduct of Lieutenant Stanley Scott, Adjutant of the Bheel Corps, and Lieutenants Hanson and Sibthorpe of the 9th Regiment, who with some twenty men of the latter corps (N.B. there were also some men of the Bheel Corps and Easree Pursad, Sur.-Major) made an attack at the termination of the day on a strong position situated on the summit of a hill, protected by large boulders of stone and defended by a number of Mackranies, who, rendered desperate by the certainty of their ultimate destruction, made frequent sallies, sword in hand, and for some time offered a most determined resistance.

4 These officers taking advantage of the little cover the ground afforded cautiously but perseveringly advanced in skirmishing order, to within twelve paces of their enemy, keeping their men loaded for the final rush. They left four of their number at the onslaught, but twenty-three of the Mackranies were left dead on the scene of action.

5 I omitted to mention in my former letter that the four mountain train mortars were brought to bear on the enemy with some effect for a short time, but the rapid advance of the troops from both sides rendered their prolonged use dangerous to my men.

6 Lieutenant Bassavi of the Artillery was unfortunately severely wounded by a sword cut in a gallant hand to hand encounter with one of the enemy.

7 The detachment Poona Irregular Horse under Naib Russeldar Hyat Meer Khan did excellent service by taking up a position on the enemy's right and thereby cutting off his retreat in that direction.

8 I beg to enclose the accompanying report from Captain Langston, and in thanking Captain Birch and Lieutenant Hall for the gallant conduct noticed therein, I would also acknowledge the prompt, able and successful manner in which Captain Langston conducted the attack on the enemy's rear.

9 I find I have greatly underrated the enemy's loss ; one hundred and seventy bodies were counted after the action. The number of killed must therefore have exceeded two hundred.

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10 I also learn that in addition to the sixty-two men taken prisoners four hundred and forty-five women and children and amongst them the wives of some of the chief insurgents have been brought in. In my former letter their numbers were under-estimated.

11 I beg to enclose an amended list of casualties by which it will be observed that I omitted to mention the name of Captain Birch amongst the wounded and that most of the men who were missing are now accounted for.

I have, etc., etc.

H. W. EVANS, MAJOR,

Comdg. Satpoora Field Force.

P. S.—I have to express my obligation to Major Haselwood for having furnished me with the valuable information on which the attack was based.

H. W. EVANS, MAJOR,

Comdg. Satpoora Field Force.

Captain Sealy, in charge of the Left Column, which never got to Amba Pani, also fought a creditable action at a hill called Dhaba Bavdi.

From

THE OFFICER COMMANDING
LEFT DETACHED COLUMN,
SATPOORA FIELD FORCE.

To

THE ACTING STAFF OFFICER,
SATPOORA FIELD FORCE,
AMBHA PAWNEE,

Camp at Balwana, 12th April 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward for the information of Major Evans, Commanding Field Force, the following report of the operations of the column under my command.

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At daylight on the 11th instant, all the baggage and commissariat supplies being ready, the column after furnishing the requisite guards and escorts marched strength as per margin, with the intention of co-operating with the other two columns in attacking the enemy at Amba Pawnee. After advancing about quarter of a mile 3 scouts were sent to a high hill on the right to ascertain if the enemy's scouts could be seen. This not being the case the column marched on, and after advancing a half mile further a report was sent by the officers of the advanced guard that the leading files heard sounds as of the firing of mortars.

Artillery.
1 Captain.
1 Subedar.
1 Staff Sergeant.
9 Havildars.
12 Rank & File.
2/4 Artillery.
1 Jemedar. } escort to
2 Havildars. }
20 Rank and File. }

P. Horse.
1 Lieutenant.
1 Rusaldar.
1 Russaldar.
1 N. Russaldar.
4 Duffedars.
37 Sowars.

19th Regimental N. I.
2 Captains.
2 Lieutenants.
1 Ensign.
3 Subedars.
5 Jemedars.
20 Havildars.
227 Rank & file.
10 Drummers 1 Fifer.
5 Bheesties.

Bheel Corps
1 Lieutenant.
1 Subedar.
1 Jemedar.
4 Havildars.
71 Rank & file.

Thinking that this might proceed from one or other of the columns, I proceeded with my staff officers to the front and had scarcely arrived there when some of the enemy were seen on the high hill to our right, and immediately a few shots were fired.

The advance guard was instantly thrown into skirmishing order, and so soon as Captain Briggs came up with the 19th Regiment N. I. he was directed to throw out a portion also. About this time the enemy's "nuggara" was heard and a green standard planted on the high ground on the right above mentioned, around which a large body of the enemy assembled, while a portion moved to occupy the ravine on our front.

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The officer of the advance guard, Captain Anderton, seeing this, proceeded to dislodge them ; while so employed a party of the enemy had succeeded in getting to our left front, when Lieutenant Atkins heading the detachment of the B. C. arrived and having driven them off held this important position with his detachment throughout the operations.

It was in the performance of this duty that officer was wounded, and after securing the position was obliged to be conveyed to the rear.

In the meantime the mountain train was brought into position and the gun was placed so as to keep down the fire from the ravine (which it raked) and from the high ground on the right front, while the howitzer was brought to play on the large body of the enemy where their standard had been planted, which was shortly removed and the enemy temporarily dispersed, but on their again endeavouring to bring the standard to the front with the view of planting it, a round or two from the howitzer again caused its removal.

The fire of the enemy on our right front however continued heavy and the enemy attempted to descend but were driven back by the 19th Regiment N. I. assisted by an occasional shell from the howitzer.

It was about the time that an individual of rank wearing a red turban, who had particularly attracted the notice of all, fell wounded and was carried off (he was supposed to be either Dawleet Sing or Kajee Sing) and placed under good cover picked off a number of the 19th Regiment N. I. and from his piece several shots reached the gun and howitzer at a distance of between 500 to 600 yards. It was only a few paces distant from the howitzer that Lieut. Blair in the act of conveying some orders to the officer commanding the 19th Regiment N. I. was wounded.

The fire of the enemy now slackened, and finding that I had expended more than ½ of the mountain train ammunition I only threw a shell occasionally, when I saw any of the enemy collected, but seeing from the very determined opposition we had encountered that a very large body of the insurgents were around us, and encumbered with my wounded without

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the means for their transport, and having besides 1,000 commissariat bullocks with the supplies to protect I considered it advisable to retire to my original position at Dhubba Bawree. With this in view and while the fire was slack, I directed the baggage and commissariat to retire, sending the half of the Poona Horse with them.

Finding that the enemy had in a great measure retired and fired an occasional shot only, I commenced to withdraw the troops, leaving as a rear guard 2 Companies of the 19th Regiment N. I. accompanied by the gun from the mountain train, and reached Dhubba Bawree without further casualties about 10½ a. m., having been engaged with the enemy for 4 hours.

During the action the enemy made an attempt to capture our Commissariat and had detached about (200) two hundred men for that purpose, but were most successfully driven off and pursued by a party of the 19th Regiment N. I. and Bheel Corps amounting to 54 men, under Subedar Somajee Cudum of the former corps.

I beg to enclose list of killed and wounded of the column, but I have been unable to ascertain the loss of the enemy. It must have however far exceeded ours. Before concluding I consider it my duty to bring to the notice of Major Evans that the troops behaved throughout the action most satisfactorily and that I was well supported by all the officers and I am much indebted to them for their exertions on the occasion.

I have, etc.

G. P. SEALY, CAPTAIN,
Comdg. Left Field Column,
S. Field Force.

The troops engaged in the three detachments are detailed, as regards Amba Pani, by Major Evans, and as regards Dhaba Bavdi in Captain Sealy's report.

It should be mentioned that Lieut. Atkins who was wounded at Dhaba Bavdi, had been in the Persian Campaign with Sir James Outram the previous season, and had only lately returned to the Bhil Corps.

The 11th of April 1858 may well be called the day of the culmination of the Bhil Corps' history. On many occasions its

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worth had been displayed in local warfare, both inside and outside Khandesh. It had fulfilled its Police duties creditably for 30 years, and had assisted in making the Province, previously to the present rebellion, a peaceful and prosperous tract of country. At Burhanpur and Asirgadh it had proved its fearless devotion to duty against mutineers, even though they were trained soldiers. But at Amba Pani it was associated with the Line on a footing of equality. Side by side they fought, fell, and conquered. Two Bhil Corps officers were wounded, several men were killed or wounded, and all share alike in the honourable roll of those 'mentioned in despatches." Captain Birch was shot through the mouth, fortunately without much permanent damage being done, and Lieutenant Atkins was severely wounded through the shoulder. The loss of the rebels was most severe. Over 200 were killed, and many more must have been wounded. Their main camp, with their wives and families, fell into British hands, and the remainder fled disorganized.

The victory was signal, and was duly acknowledged, but unfortunately it was not conclusive. Bhil outlaws may be compared to tape worms. So long as the head is not eradicated, it is not correct to say that the disease is cured. Neither Khaja Sing, Bhima nor Mavasya had been secured or killed, and unless this were done there could be no assurance of peace. A good many circumstances combined to delay operations. There was the oncoming monsoon, and long discussions took place as to the disposal of troops while the rains lasted. The Resident at Indore sent his Assistant to take Political charge. The crafty Bhil leaders, at the approach of an officer of another department, delayed the campaign by tendering their submission. Bhima Naik actually 'came in' and stayed for several days. He went off again on the pretext of fetching Mavasya in, and having delayed as long as possible finally announced that neither he nor Mavasya nor anyone else intended to submit. Major Haselwood was annoyed at the Political officer, and Maj. Evans, giving him orders, while he was senior in rank to both. He also got an unfortunate attack of sunstroke. Captain Birch, though suffering from his wound, remained at his post. It is easy to surmise that had he been in full health, the rebels would not have escaped so long.

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The result of the inaction was that Khaja Sing 'came in,' was pardoned, and actually reinstated. He, however, as might have been expected, again yielded to temptation in the shape of a large treasure on camels, which he looted and went out again. Lieutenants Atkins and Probyn pursued him and his gang, defeated him, and recovered over one lakh of treasure. Khaja Sing was left a fugitive, and died by assassination. This took place in 1860. The operations, though small as regards force employed, were both well planned and successful, and are described by Government as having prevented another Bhil mutiny. Letters describing the final defeat of Khaja Sing and the manner of his death are appended.

From

LIEUTENANT F. W. ATKINS,
ACTING SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
CANDESH.

To

A. R. GRANT, ESQUIRE,
ACTING COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE OF CANDESH.

Camp Seerpoor, 6th June 1860.

SIR,

I have the honor to report that on the afternoon of the 1st instant after marching from 12 o'clock the previous night Lieutenant Probyn and myself with a Detachment of the Bheel Corps and a party of the Poona Horse and Mounted Police, came up with the rebels under Khajia Sing in the Satpoora Hills southwest of Newalla in the Burwanee territory and completely routed them. They fled in all directions, leaving all they possessed in our hands. We pursued Khajia Sing, Mahdoo Sing and the mounted followers with them for eight miles. They effected their escape by leaving their horses on the brink of a precipitous ravine down which they fled on foot—two of the number were shot down, and three wounded, the latter having been carried off by a party of Bheels into the ravine. Night coming on and heavy rain having set in and our men and horses being completely exhausted, further pursuit was impracticable. We returned, therefore, to the rebel camp where we had left the main body of the Bheel detachment.

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2 We halted for the night in the hills and marched back to Bhoreghur on the summit of the Scindwah ghaut the next day, the heavy rain during the night having swollen the smallest stream so that it was rendered impassable and nothing more therefore could be done by us in the hills. Moreover the flour we had taken with us for the men had become destroyed by the wet and the nearest place where a fresh supply was obtainable (*viz*, Palasnair) was distant some 25 miles, where baggage animals were not procurable to bring on any supplies. The rain continuing in the Hills, Lieutenant Probyn and myself returned on the evening of the 2nd to Seerpoor leaving the men at Pulasnair where we managed to procure good shelter for them.

3 The rout of the rebels was complete. Everything they possessed was captured by us, including horses, cattle, provisions, etc., and a bag containing some 700 five-Franc pieces also fell into our possession. They had sent off their women and children early in the morning to a place some six koss distant where they had intended going the same night. All the Musalmans and foreigners who joined Kajee Sing have since deserted him and a number of them are prisoners in our hands. From the statement of a prisoner who left him on the 3rd and who was apprehended the day before yesterday below the hills, it would appear that Khajia did not succeed in carrying off any of the plundered treasure with him in his flight, the greater portion of it being buried in the Gowharia Hills beyond Wallwud. He pointed out to us a spot where we discovered 71 bars of silver, but he cannot show the exact spot where the rest is buried. We have posted a party of Bheels in the Hills to prevent any one coming to carry it off, and are making every search for it in the surrounding jungle.

4 The Bheels, the prisoner states, have deserted Khajee Sing, with the exception of some eight or ten who joined him from the Burwanee State and these were the only followers he had when the prisoner left him on the 3rd instant. Khajee Sing, is therefore, a helpless fugitive and now that he has been deserted by the few Khandeish Bheels who accompanied him

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when he broke into rebellion I trust that he will ere long fall into our hands.

I have, etc., etc.,

F. W. ATKINS, LIEUTENANT,
Acting Superintendent of Police.

From

ACTING MAGISTRATE,
SEERPOOR,
8th July.

To

S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
POLICE COMMISSIONER,
POONA.

The results of Atkins' and Probyn's expedition against Kajea Sing are most gratifying, every foreigner in the Band disposed of. Band quite broken up. Kajea a helpless fugitive starving in the jungles. One hundred and forty-six bricks of silver recovered and some cash, expect more. The service Atkins and Probyn have performed cannot be too highly eulogized. By their promptitude and dash they have prevented another Bhil war. I hope you will obtain from Government some substantial recognition of the good service done by them. Sir Richmond Shakespear has directed withdrawal of regular troops from Burwanee.

A. R. GRANT
Acting Magistrate.

From

LIEUTENANT O. PROBYN,
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

To

CAPTAIN F. W. ATKINS,
ACTING SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
KHANDESH.
Camp Malligaum, 24th October 1860.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that the head of Khajia Sing Naik was brought into Seerpoor on the morning of the 3rd

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instant by Jemadar Rohedeen, Shaik Nhunoo, and Missree Khan peon of the Stipendiary Police. Polad Sing his son was also brought in a prisoner.

2 In July last after Khaja Sing's Band had been dispersed by our "dour" and Khaja himself was known to be a fugitive with but half a dozen Bhil followers, a Mukranee Jemadar of the Sooltanpur Police named Rohedeen was despatched in pursuit of him with a party of three or four other Mukranees, and the two men named in the first paragraph, and with the usual instructions authorizing him to use force if necessary. Before their plans could be carried out Khajee Sing had been joined by Bheema Naik, and Rohedeen Naik, therefore it appears, entertained some dozen Mukranees from the other side of the Nurbuda who were, I have no doubt, actuated by the hope of earning the large reward offered by Government and in some degree probably by a spirit of revenge, consequent upon a very cruel murder which Khaja Sing committed on one of his Mukranee followers a day or two before he was attacked by us on the 1st of July.

3 Being unable by any other means to ascertain where Khajee Sing was, Rohedeen had recourse to stratagem and joined the rebels under pretence of taking service with them. Bheema Naik it appear now parted company with Khajee Sing, and Rohedeen taking advantage of the opportunity and learning that Khajee Sing's force was likely to receive a large accession of numbers in the course of a day or two at furthest, found it necessary for his own safety to make an immediate attack. Khajee Sing was killed in the affair as also was one of the Bheels who offered resistance. Khajee Sing's only son, a boy of about 14 years of age who could of course make no fight, was taken prisoner, which was *most fortunate* as had he remained at large, his presence might have kept up the excitement amongst the Bheels.

4 The Bheel followers of Khajee Sing dispersed and fled in confusion on seeing their leader fall, but had this not happened, a rescue would in all probability have been

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effected, and it is quite certain that there would have been much loss of life.

5 Rohedeen and his followers have received the Government reward of Rupees three thousand but in consideration of the additional gratuities and most important service performed by them in capturing Polad Sing I trust you will recommend some further reward to be divided amongst Rohedeen and the other two members of the Police force.

6 Polad Sing is in my camp and his final disposal will form the subject of a separate letter, in the meantime he will remain with me.

I have, etc., etc.

OLIVER PROBYN,

Assistant Superintendent of Police.

P. S.—I regret that there has been some delay in forwarding this letter which was partly occasioned by a desire on my part to settle with and dismiss to their homes the Mukranees engaged by Jemadar Rohedeen before I should submit my report.

O. PROBYN, LIEUTENANT,

Assistant Superintendent of Police,

Khandesh.

There are still living at Dharangaon three old men of those who fought at Amba Pani and Dhaba Bavdi. One of them by special request wrote down his recollections of those times, including also the death of Khaja Sing. The old man is over 90, is the son of one of Outram's original draft from the 123rd, and as a boy remembers to have seen Outram. Considering that he wrote the account here literally translated with his own hand and from his recollections, the slight inaccuracies may well be forgiven. His story is spirited, though all may not agree with the propriety of the pardon given to the Jamadar.

Written by Bhauprasad Kanairam Dube resident of Dharangaon.

It was requested that I should write what I remember of the old battles fought by the Bhil Corps.

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In 1857 many Hindustan regiments went against the Sarkar. In various parts rebellions broke out, and caused abundant trouble to the ryots. The Sarkar with great labour restored order in Hindustan. So also in Khandesh Zilla there was a rebellion. Khaja Naik was hereditary warden of the Sindva pass, stationed at Sangvi. He was paid monthly by the Sarkar, but owing to highway robberies occurring in his charge, Mansfield Saheb the Collector suspended him. He wanted his pay, and therefore, he collected the Bhil chiefs, and a force of 2,000 or 3,000 men. Among them were Makranis, Arabs, and Bhils. They began to rob and plunder and do much damage. Therefore the Sarkar added to the existing regiment of 1,000 men a second regiment of 800 or 900 men, drilled it, and prepared it for service. Then the Collector Saheb sent for Khaja Naik. He came with great secrecy to Dhulia, and the Saheb gave him to understand that it is evil to oppose the Sarkar. He said that he would bring all to order and went away, but he deceived the Saheb. Then 18 lakhs of treasure were being sent from Bombay, and Khaja Naik set on it below Sindva and looted it, and he looted other treasure two or three times, and caused much trouble. Than the Sarkar sent Major Haselwood Saheb and Atkins Saheb and Birch Saheb with the regiment and I also went. Khaja Naik placed half his men at Amba Pani and half at Dhaba Bavdi, Atkins Saheb was commanding at Dhaba Bavdi and Major Haselwood at Amba Pani. Major Haselwood and Scott Sahebs formed all our division up and gave the order to load. Then the Sahebs sat on their horses and waved their topees and said "You and we alike eat the Sarkar's salt. At this time look not to your lives, but advance and slay, and glorify the name of the Sarkar," and the shooting of bullets and cannon balls went on from 6 in the morning till 5 in the evening. Khaja had his store of guns and powder on the hill, and many men to load for his Makranis. They loaded, and the Makranis and Arabs fired, and were in no danger. So Major Haselwood Saheb ordered an Artillery Saheb to fire a shell. The Artillery Saheb looked with his telescope and measured and

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fired, and that shell struck the heap of powder and burst and the powder exploded, and 1,500 men who were at that post were all killed. The rest began to flee, and we caught 150 men and tied them to the trees at Amba Pani. Next day 200 men were ordered to load, and the prisoners were bound with rope and set on the edge of the hill, and Major Haselwood Saheb gave the order to fire and they all died at once. And the hills were searched, and much money was found, and musk and saffron and rupees and ingots. They were placed in the Treasury. This is the story of Amba Pani.

At Daba Bavdi were 400 of our regiment and Karim Ahmadu was there, and there were some regulars also. On them the Makranis and Arabs and Bhils fired from the hills, and Atkins Saheb was struck on the side of his chest, so that the Saheb was very sick. He made Motilal Jamadar commanding officer and came to Amba Pani. Motilal was commanding and making the assault, and he got behind a rock and sat there. An officer of regulars saw him and took his name. The regulars and Bhils took Dhaba Bavdi and assembled on Bel hill, and all the Officer Sahebs sat in one place. The Adjutant of regulars rose and said to the Saheb "My demand is that the Bhil Jamadar who marches with a sword was hiding behind a rock, therefore he must be shot from a cannon" and some said "Let him be trodden by an elephant." So they said, but we sent Shriprasad Jamadar and he went to Atkins Saheb's tent and told him all. Atkins Saheb said "The Adjutant Saheb of regulars has seen him, what help is there?" But we said "Let the Sahib look in his book of rules. We have learned the rules of Light Infantry. In them it is said plainly, that in assaulting a hill one should use the cover of trees or stones only one should not delay." Then the Saheb took his English printed book of rules and looked at all the sections. Then he asked for a doolie, and sat in it, and went where the Sahebs were sitting. And the Sahebs were told that Atkins Saheb is coming, and they all went near his bed, and he asked them "Who demands anything of my Jamadar?" And the Commandant of the Regulars said, "My Adjutant

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has a demand and a complaint, that this Jamadar was sitting behind a stone with his sword on." Atkins Saheb said, "Is the book of rules printed by the Sarkar right or no ?" And all the Sahebs said, "It is right." And Atkins Saheb threw the book of Light Infantry rules before them and said "What the Sarkar has printed in this, is it right ? My people well know the Light Infantry drill. It is written that one should save his life behind trees and stones when advancing to the assault. Accordingly my Jamadar was advancing in that very fashion. He neither retreated nor fled." Then all the Sahebs agreed with Atkins Saheb and rejected the complaint of the Adjutant Saheb.

Afterwards Khaja Naik was not captured, but with Bhima Naik and two or three other chiefs encamped at the Goi River. Khaja Naik's old servant Rohidin Makrani had been to his home. He returned to Nandurbar, and with him ten Makranis. The Fauzdar of Nandurbar sent them under escort to Probyn Saheb. When they came the Saheb said, "Catch Khaja Naik and I will give you Rs. 2,000." Rohidin agreed and asked that the Police help him, and that he might be given an authority that none should hinder him. And he returned to Nandurbar and told the Police and went into the hills, to the place where Khaja Naik was encamped. One of Khaja's men seized him and told Khaja that Rohidin Makrani is come. Khaja said, "Take away all his arms and bring him to me." They placed him before Khaja Naik, and he said, "Rohidin, you are my old servant, but you have seen the English, and are come to kill me. The Sarkar offers you Rs. 2,000, but I say, take Rs. 5,000 and return to your country." Rohidin said, "Raja, I have eaten and drunk of yours, never will I do such treachery. I will remain in your service." Then Khaja said "Swear an oath." And Rohidin took in his hand his Koran and swore, and Khaja said "Take also the Bel," and he took the Bel and Koran and said, "I will never do treachery to you." Bhima Naik said "Khaja Naik, this Makrani is a rogue, he will do treachery, do not trust him." But he swore many oaths, and the Naiks kept him, and gave him a goat and

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flour and said "go and eat." So Rohidin served Khaja Naik. Now Khaja Naik was religious, and used to walk to worship, and he had with him a charm, that was bound in his hair, therefore no bullet nor sword hurt him. And he took off his charm and everything else by the Goi River, and went into the water to wash. But Rohidin had caused a man to load his gun and sit in a nala by the river. Khaja Naik was looking towards the sun and worshipping, and then the Makrani fired the gun, and the ball struck Khaja in the back, and he cried aloud. All his Bhils fled, and Khaja said, "Take care of my son Polad Sing' and fell on the ground. And his sister ran and fell on him. Then Rohidin drew his sword and began to cut off Khaja's head, and his sister complained, but Rohidin cut her to pieces and brought Polad Sing and the head to Dharangaon. And Probyn Saheb was very angry and said, "When were you ordered to cut off his head?" There was the Collector Saheb there and five or six other Sahebs, and they hanged Khaja Naik's head on a nim tree near the school in Dharangaon. Many people came there to see it, and the Collector asked Polad Sing "Whose head is this?" He answered "It is my father's head." He was then 14 or 15 years old, but he was very angry and said, "This Rohidin has betrayed his salt. He took the Koran and the Bel and swore, and he has betrayed his oath. God will be avenged on him." The Collector Saheb said "Do not fear, the Sarkar will be father and mother to you." And he buried Khaja's head, and made Rohidin a Jamadar, and gave him the reward, and sent him to Nandurbar. There he served three months, and of a sudden worms appeared in his mouth and on his body and he died.

Bhima Naik continued to give trouble till 1867, when he surrendered and was transported.

Nevertheless, the rebellion as a rebellion was broken at Amba Pani. The outlaws no doubt gave much trouble afterwards, but they were rather a menace to private life and property than to the State. The field force returned to Khandesh, and took no more serious part in the operations in the Satpuras.

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In October Tantya Topee was approaching from Central India. 300 of the Bhil Corps were sent to Burhanpur in case he invaded Khandesh, as was considered likely. Major Haselwood and Captain Birch accompained them, much to their own advantage, for they appear to have been taken by Sir Hugh Rose, who needed officers knowing local dialects, on his staff. Henceforward Lieutenant Atkins becomes Superintendent of Police and officiating Commandant. He also was absent for some time acting as A. D. C. interpreter to Sir Hugh Rose while he was in Nimar and the neighbouring country.

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CHAPTER XII.

TRANSITION FROM MILITARY TO POLICE.

WITH the rains of 1858 began that undisturbed peace which the province has ever since enjoyed. Bhagoji Naik's gang, which had entered its southern borders, had been exterminated. The shadow of Tantya Topee passed and was gone, and the Satpura Bhils were a despicable gang of dacoits.

It may be said that the Asirgadh march, and the Satpura campaign were petty affairs, involving a few hundred men only. But the importance of a battle by no means always depends on the numbers engaged. How many hundreds fought at Koregaon Bhima, or how many for that matter were besieged at Lucknow? At Burhanpur and Asirgadh the Bhils were opposed to mutinous regulars, in the Satpuras to their own kith and kin. Yet to say they did not fail in their duty would be to use extremely moderate language. Their performance was steady throughout and at times brilliant, and they well deserved the Mutiny Medals which were allotted to all who had marched to Asirgadh, or had been present at Amba Pani and Dhaba Bavdi. Had the Sindva Pass not been kept open for the passage of stores and war materials, annoying, perhaps dangerous, delay would have resulted. Had Tantya Topee known of an asylum in Asirgadh, there is little doubt which way he would have gone.

Except that Lieut. Probyn was several times occupied during the next few years in hunting down Bhima and his gang in the Akrani, sometimes in conjunction with regular troops, sometimes with his Bhils only, there was no more active service for the present.

The internal administration of the two corps began immediately to occupy attention. As regards the second corps, this was no

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doubt very necessary. Though many recruits had been obtained, and officers appointed, yet the second corps had never really existed as a regimental unit. On campaign, members of both corps served together and were not differentiated by numbers, but were always styled men of the Bhil Corps. The officers, appointed for specific duties, in the stress of the times had to do what fell nearest to their hand. The recruits at headquarters received but scanty and intermittent attention, for if an officer did happen to be at Dharangaon, he was sure to be called away for service elsewhere in a short time.

Before he left the Corps, Major Haselwood outlined a scheme defining the positions and duties of the two corps. He wished them to be both semi-military corps as hitherto. The 1st Bhil Corps was to be commanded by the Superintendent of Police, and the second by the 1st Assistant. Each was to be independent as regards regimental training and so forth, but the Superintendent was to exercise a general supervision over both corps, and to have the command in case of the necessity for combined action. The 1st corps was to remain at Dharangaon, and the 2nd to be placed at Malegaon. Each was to have a 2nd in command and an Adjutant. The 2nd in command was also to be Bhil agent but to be responsible to the Superintendent as principal Bhil agent, rather than to the Collector.

Mr. Mansfield opined that the 2nd Bhil Corps should be a service corps stationed at Malegaon. The 1st Bhil Corps should be retained as at present, but should be relieved by the 2nd Corps of detachment duty at Dhulia and Malegaon. This would allow of nearly half the strength of the 1st Corps being normally at head-quarters. The 2nd Corps was to be independent of the Superintendent of Police, except in cases of emergency, such as frontier outbreaks, when the 2nd Corps was to be liable to send aid as required. The Bhil Agents, now to all intents and purposes Revenue officers, were to be responsible to the Collector, while retaining their appointments in the Corps. In fact, they were to be in civil employ, but liable for military duty on emergency.

Government issued orders, which do not exactly correspond with either of the above opinions, but are obviously influenced by both.

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From

H. L. ANDERSON, Esquire,

Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To

A. BETTINGTON, Esquire,

Commissioner of Police.

Secret Department.

Dated 14th Dec. 1858.

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Mansfield's letter to your address dated the 23rd October last, No. 1877, offering certain suggestions for the future organization of the two Bheel Corps in Khandesh, I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council to communicate to you the following observations and instructions.

2 The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council considers that the best plan will be to form the two corps into a single corps composed of two battalions, each battalion to be treated precisely alike and to be placed on the same footing as the Kolhapoor Infantry and Sawant Waree Local Corps, which perform the duties of Regiments of the Line and at the same time take police duties.

3 His Lordship in Council considers that the Head-Quarters of the two battalions, which might be at Malligaum and Dhurrungaum, should always be of the same strength as the wing of a Regiment and should take the military duties of their stations, the remainder of the Corps performing all detached and Police duties, thus relieving the regiments of the Line from service which are considered prejudicial to military discipline.

4 Each battalion should have its own separate Staff—Native Adjutant and Subedar and Havildar Major, but the Right Honourable the Governor in Council would make no alteration in the present strength of the corps with regard to European officers. Each battalion has its own Commandant, Second in Command, and Adjutant, but as the corps will continue to be a civil one, the Superintendent of Police

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

will have a general command over both battalions, although it is understood that this should be sparingly exercised.

5 The Right Honourable the Governor in Council trusts that with the aid of these battalions the Bheels will soon become attached to the soil, the assessment of which is now being regulated on every moderate principles, and thus remove the necessity of keeping up the Bheel Agencies, although His Lordship in Council quite agrees with Mr. Mansfield's opinion that the Agencies should be independent of the Police Department.

6 As these arrangements contemplate the removal of the Native Regiment stationed at Malligaum and the abolition of the Brigade Command in Khandesh, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council has deemed it necessary to obtain the opinion of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief before giving effect to them in their entirety

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

H. L. ANDERSON,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE,
14th December 1858.

Apparently the Bhil Corps, after their successes in war, settled down, strictly according to tribal custom, to a series of big drinks. Mr. Mansfield, Major Haselwood, and Lieutenant Atkins knew them well, and apparently bore with their exuberance.

But Major E. P. Arthur, who came as Superintendent in 1859, Major Haselwood having returned to Khandesh for a few months and again having left the Province, had not been campaigning with the Bhils. He only saw the loosened belts and the inattention to discipline. His report is in no measured terms, and it had so much effect on Mr. Mansfield, old Khandeshi and lover of Bhils as he was, that he supported Major Arthur. That officer complained that the Bhil Corps was lazy, illiterate, and incompetent of performing police duties. It might furnish guards and outposts, but for the detection and prevention of crime it was useless. These important duties were entrusted to the irregular sibandis under the Mamlatdars, who were paid the great salary of Rs. 4 a month

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each, and who worked, bribed, tortured, and corrupted accordingly. Major Arthur proposed, in effect, that the second Bhil Corps should be disbanded, and the Sibandis abolished. A new force of educated Police was to be raised, who should be responsible for those duties which had hitherto been neglected.

Mr. Mansfield's letter in support is a masterly summing up of the situation. It may well be understood that it was wrung from him. There is so to speak a suggestion of Wellington standing up for the "scum of England" who won Waterloo, or of the antitheses in Mr. Kipling's "Tommy Atkins."

No. 1384 of 1859.

CANDEISH MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE,
Dhoolia, 9th August 1859.

From

S. MANSFIELD, ESQUIRE,
MAGISTRATE OF CANDEISH.

To

A. H. BETTINGTON, ESQUIRE,
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
POONAH.

SIR,

I beg to forward a report from Major Arthur, Superintendent of Police, on the present state of the Police in Candesh with suggestions for remodelling it at a considerable saving to Government.

2 The Police of Candesh consists first of the two Candesh Bheel Corps numbering 2,047 men in all ranks and costing Rs. 18,218-8 per mensem. Secondly, a body of 92 mounted Police costing Rs. 1,905. Thirdly, 858 Police Peons or Seebundees costing Rs. 3,712-13-4. We have therefore 2,997 men of all ranks costing Rs. 23,836-3-4 per mensem for the detection and prevention of crime in Candesh, the area of which is upwards of 12,000 square miles, with a population exceeding 800,000. These numbers would be more than sufficient provided the qualifications of the men for police duties were even respectable, but I regret to state such is not the case and notwithstanding the great expense incurred nothing can be more inefficient than the Candesh Police is at present.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

3 Major Arthur in his 5th to 8th paras comments on the anomalous position of the Superintendent European officer, being Commandant of the 1st Candesh Bheel Corps while his Assistant is Commandant of the 2nd Corps. Major Arthur being Superintendent is of course responsible for the state of the Police of the Zillah and yet nearly half of the Police force is under the immediate control of his Assistant with whom he cannot interfere either in punishing or rewarding any men of the 2nd Corps. Captain Birch being so very junior to Major Haselwood and also being a great friend of his, no bad results ensued from the arrangement while they were in Candesh, and I do not anticipate anything but cordial co-operation between Major Arthur and Lieutenant Atkins, but still a difference of opinion might occur and be very prejudicial to the Public service. I therefore concur with Major Arthur in the propriety of remodelling the constitution of the two (2) Corps, more particularly as there is not sufficient employment for more than four (4) European officers in the Police Department and the Bheel Agencies.

4 The Government have recently ordered the two (2) Corps to be reduced to 800 men, but I would recommend that they be further reduced to 600 men each and made into one corps. There should be a Commandant and Adjutant with two (2) other officers as Assistant Superintendents of Police, who in time of service could be employed with the corps.

5 The 1st Bheel Corps was raised in 1825 and the strength fixed at 800 men. In 1840 it was determined to garrison Scindwa with it and an additional two (2) Companies of 100 men each sanctioned. These men have been entertained ever since though the design of garrisoning Scindiwa was never carried into effect.

6 The 2nd Corps was raised in 1857, during the mutinies, and the strength of each corps was fixed at 1,000 men of all ranks making the Bheel levies 2,000, instead of the original 800.

7 The object of levying the 1st Corps in the 1st instance was to civilize the Bheels, and by giving regular pay to a large number to attach them to the British Government. The experiment has been very successful, for while the Bheels and

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coolies of Gujerat, Malwa and other districts are almost as lawless as ever, the Candesh Bheels are quite the reverse and commit less crime than other classes of the population.

8 Though the above satisfactory result has been obtained little or nothing has been done in the Bheel Corps to stimulate the mental qualities of the Bheels or raise their moral character. On a recruit being enlisted he is put through a course of drill for a few months and then sent on outpost duty under an inefficient native officer and is transferred from one post to another till the end of his service and seldom visits Dhurrungaon except in case of sickness. He is therefore very little superior in intelligence or conduct to his relations living in the jungles.

9 The corps being entirely composed of Bheels with the exception of a few Purdasees, the Commanding Officers have been unable to repress drinking and improvident habits, owing to their universal prevalence, by promoting the good and discharging the bad men. There is as much drinking among the native and non-commissioned officers as among the men, and consequently the corps generally are quite unequal to duties of police. This opinion I have formed after a seven years' residence in the province.

10 The original duties intended for the corps to perform were to guard district treasuries, garrison outposts in unhealthy situations on the frontier bordering on districts inhabited by different tribes of Bheels, and assist in expeditions against insurgent Naiks. The efficient performance of these duties was not incompatible with a very low degree of intelligence, and I don't suppose there are 150 Bheels in the two (2) corps who can read and write and at the same time are sufficiently abstemious to be entrusted with duties which require higher qualifications.

11 The constitution of the corps requires, therefore, an entire reform if it is intended to make use of it as police. At present ten (10) men called Purdasees are entertained in each Company, and from them are selected a proportionate number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. These men are much higher paid than the Bheel ranks, and were intended,

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I suppose, to set an example and at the same time be a check on the Bheels. This might have succeeded if the corps had been kept together in one locality and the Purdasees had been properly selected. The duties allotted to the corps prevented, however, the former, and I regret to say that by the neglect of the Commanding Officers the Purdasees are very inferior indeed, and in many instances not superior to the Bheels in intelligence and conduct. I would therefore do away with the Purdasee ranks and give the Commanding Officer (after the reduction is effected by the discharge of unfit and the stoppage of recruiting) authority to enlist those who may be found the most eligible, whether they be Bheels or any other caste, but to give the former the preference, and all should receive the same rates of pay, as proposed by Major Arthur. Reading and writing and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for a policeman, and though we cannot expect for some years that every member of the police will possess them yet by keeping this object perpetually in view, I have no doubt we shall attain it in a much shorter period than would be generally supposed.

12 The corps was originally intended to comprise men belonging to all the different tribes in the hills and plains. This has been lost sight of to a great extent and the great body of the Bheel Corps is composed of "plain" men, very little removed from coolies. This, I think, should be altered and the Commandant should be urged to make efforts to secure men from the Satpoora and Satmulla Hills.

13 I quite concur with Major Arthur in the opinion expressed in his 11th para, "that the elements for the construction of a good police force do not exist in the Candesh Bheel Corps and unless they are placed on a different footing it would be better to let it remain a Political Corps, unchanged in its constitution, and perform the duties it was originally intended for, and be entirely unconnected with the police. It could then be reduced to its original strength of 800 men. This reduction would involve the necessity of the undisciplined police being increased by an equal augmentation, viz. 400."

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14 I also quite concur with the opinion expressed by Major Arthur in his 13th para. regarding the impolicy of entertaining Seebundees on a pittance which affords them but a bare subsistence. The rates of pay he proposes to give them are only fair. I should have proposed higher pay for them, for I am of the same opinion as the Commissioner in Scinde that the pay of a policeman ought to be higher than that of the regular sepoy of the line, but as that would be higher than the pay of any other police in the Presidency, I refrain from recommending any increase on Major Arthur's rates.

15 As to the arrangement proposed in Major Arthur's 15th para., I have no objection to offer further than I think the distribution of the different districts among the assistants should be left to the Superintendent and the Magistrate who are the best judges of what is required.

16 I have above stated that the duties of the Police and the Bheel Agencies can be conducted by four (4) European officers. As the duties of the two Agencies must be conducted by the two Assistant Superintendents of Police the expense of half their office establishments should be debited to the Police and half to the Revenue Superintendent.

17 I quite agree with Major Arthur in his remarks about the pay of Fowjdars and trust his recommendation regarding its increase will receive the sanction of Government.

18 The measure proposed by Major Arthur is, in my humble opinion, calculated to promote the efficiency of the Police to a very great degree and as a saving of Rupees 3,466-1-4 per mensem or of Rupees 41,593 per annum is effected, I trust it will meet with your hearty support,

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. MANSFIELD,
Magistrate.

After some discussion, the arrangements contemplated by Major Arthur and Mr. Mansfield (now become Commissioner of Police) were adopted by Government in October 1860. The orders, and the statement attached, are reproduced.

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER AND COST OF PRESENT AND PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Statement showing the number and cost of the present and proposed Establishment of Police.

	Present Establishment of Police.			Proposed Establishment of Police.			
	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.	
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Foujdars—							
1st Class	7	20 0 0	140 0 0	5	45 0 0	225 0 0	
2nd „	1	16 0 0	16 0 0	10	35 0 0	350 0 0	
3rd	1	15 0 0	15 0 0	14	30 0 0	420 0 0	
4th	21	14 0 0	294 0 0	....	.....	.....	
	30	.....	465 0 0	29	.....	995 0 0	
1st and 2nd Bheel Corps—							
Commandant	1	1,000 0 0	1,000 0 0	1	1,000 0 0	800 0 0	The pay of the commandant should be Rs. 800.
„	1	600 0 0	600 0 0	...	.....	.....	
2nd-in Command	2	600 0 0	1,200 0 0	...	.....	.....	

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Adjutants	2	500 0 0	1,000 0 0	1	500 0	500 0 0
Subedar Major	1	77 0 0	77 0 0	1	55 0 0	55 0 0
,, ,, ...	1	67 0 0	67 0 0	...	.....	.....
Subedars, Purdassees	6	42 0 0	252 0 0	...	.....	.....
,, Bheels	14	29 0 0	406 0 0	12	30 0 0	360 0 0
Jamadars, Purdassees	6	24 8 0	147 0 0	...	.....	.....
,, Bheels	14	14 8 0	203 0 0	12	20 0 0	240 0 0
Havildars, Purdassees	14	10 8 0	147 0 0	...	.....	.....
,, Bheels	100	8 0 0	800 0 0	60	10 0 0	600 0 0
Naiques, Purdassees	10	8 12 0	87 8 0	...	.....	.....
,, Bheels	100	6 0 0	600 0 0	60	8 0 0	480 0
Buglers, Major	2	10 8 0	20 0 0	1	10 0 0	10 0 0
Buglers	20	8 12 0	175 0 0	12	8 0 0	96 0 0
Privates, Purdassees...	112	7 0 0	784 0 0	412	6 8 0	2,704 0 0
,, Bheels	1,600	5 0 0	8,000 0 0	626	5 8 0	3,443 0 0
Average of monthly Batta	...	.....	1,500 0 0	...	.....	.....
Total Rs. ...	2,006	.....	17,066 8 0	1,202	.....	9,288 0 0

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Statement showing the number and cost of the present and proposed Establishment of Police.

	Present Establishment of Police.			Proposed Establishment of Police.		
	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment—						
Apothecary	2	200 0 0	400 0 0	1	200 0 0	200 0 0
1st Hospital Assistant	1	35 0 0	35 0 0	1	35 0 0	35 0 0
1st „ „	1	25 0 0	25 0 0	...	.....	.....
2nd „ „	3	20 0 0	60 0 0	2	20 0 0	40 0 0
1st Grade Apprentice	1	8 0 0	8 0 0	1	8 0 0	8 0 0
2nd Grade Apprentice	1	5 0 0	5 0 0	1	5 0 0	5 0 0
Pundits	2	14 8 0	29 0 0	1	14 8 0	14 8 0
Armourers	2	12 0 0	24 0 0	1	12 0 0	12 0 0
Assistant Armourers	2	8 0 0	16 0 0	1	8 0 0	8 0 0
Bellows Boys	2	4 0 0	8 0 0	1	4 0 0	4 0 0
Moochees	2	8 0 0	16 0 0	1	8 0 0	8 0 0
Bheestees	20	6 0 0	120 0 0	10	6 0 0	60 0 0
Total Rs. ...	39	.....	746 0 0	21	.....	394 8 0

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Allowances, etc.—								
For stationery, etc., for 20 Companies at 8 rupees each	20	8 0 0	160 0 0	12	8 0 0	96 0 0
For Havildar Major	2	10 0 0	20 0 0	1	10 0 0	10 0 0
For Pay Orderlies	20	5 0 0	100 0 0	10	5 0 0	50 0 0
For Drill Havildars	2	5 0 0	10 0 0	1	5 0 0	5 0 0
,, Masters	20	2 0 0	40 0 0	8	2 0 0	16 0 0
Stationery to Schools	...	3 0 0	6 0 0	....	3 0 0	3 0 0
and Charcoal	....	10 0 0	20 0 0	....	10 0 0	10 0 0
	...	.....	356 0 0	...	.....	190 0 0
Kunhur Agency—						
Bheel Agent	...	.....	.....	1	600 0 0	600 0 0
Establishment—						
English Writer	1	38 8 0	38 8 0	1	30 0 0	30 0 0
Sheristadar	1	33 8 0	33 8 0	1	30 0 0	30 0 0
Carkoon	1	18 8 0	18 8 0	1	15 0 0	15 0 0
1 Havildar, Rs. 6 ; 1 Naik Rs. 5, and 6 Peons, Rs. 4$\frac{4}{16}$	8	.....	36 8 0	...	.....	.....
	11	.....	127 0 0	4	.....	675 0 0
Western Bheel Agency—as above....	11	.....	127 0 0	4	.....	675 0 0

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Statement showing the number and cost of the present and proposed Establishment of Police.

	Present Establishment of Police.			Proposed Establishment of Police.			
	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.	No. of men.	Rate of monthly payment.	Total of monthly payment.	
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Establishment to the Superintendent of Police—							
English Writer	1	48 0 0	48 0 0	1	35 0 0	35 0 0	
,, ,, ...	...	.....	.....	1	25 0 0	25 0 0	
Sheristadar	1	29 0 0	29 0 0	1	35 0 0	35 0 0	
2nd Carkoon	1	20 0 0	20 0 0	1	20 0 0	20 0 0	
3rd ,, ...	1	14 0 0	14 0 0	1	15 0 0	15 0 0	
4th ,, ...	1	13 8 0	13 8 0	1	12 0 0	12 0 0	
1 Naique Rs. 5, and 3 Peons Rs. 4½.	4	.....	17 12 0	...	.....	.....	
Total Rs. ...	9	.....	142 4 0	6	.....	142 0 0	
Adjutant's Office—							
Paid for from the Stationery and Company Allowance, Kotewal ...	2	25 0 0	50 0 0	...	.....	.....	
Sebundies—							
Subedars	...	.....	.....	4	30 0 0	120 0 0	Four ample.
Jemedars	25	7 8 0	187 8 0	9	20 0 0	180 0 0	

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Havildars	50	6	0	0	300	0	0	48	10	0	0	480	0	0
Naiques	48	5	0	0	240	0	0	48	8	0	0	384	0	0
Peons, 1st Class	1	4	5	4	4	5	4	334	6	8	0	2,171	0	0
„ 2nd „	484	4	0	0	1,936	0	0	502	5	8	0	2,761	0	0
„ 3rd „	140	3	0	0	420	0	0	...	.....			.....		
„ 4th „	80	2	0	0	160	0	0	...	.....			.....		
Total Rs. ...	828	.....			3,247	13	4	950	.....			6,096	0	0
Mounted Police—														
Jemedars	1	35	0	0	35	0	0	1	35	0	0	35	0	0
Duffedars	6	25	0	0	150	0	0	6	25	0	0	150	0	0
Naib Duffedars	10	22	0	0	220	0	0	10	22	0	0	220	0	0
Silladars	75	20	0	0	1,500	0	0	75	20	0	0	1,500	0	0
Total Rs. ...	92	.....			1,905	0	0	92	.....			1,905	0	0
Grand Total Rs. ...	3,028	.....			24,232	9	4	2,314	.....			20,360	8	0

Abstract.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Present Establishment	24,232	9	4
Proposed Establishment	20,360	8	0
Decrease per mensem	3,872	1	4
			12
Decrease per annum	46,465	0	0

(Signed) P. P. ARTHUR, MAJOR,
Superintendent of Police.

True Copy.

J. MANSFIELD,
Magistrate.

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BOMBAY CASTLE,
18th *October* 1860.

Judicial Department.

SIR,

I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 233 dated 14th July last and to transmit copy of the Government Resolution regarding the reduction of the 2nd Khandesh Bheel Corps and your proposal to remodel the pay and emoluments of the disciplined and undisciplined Police.

Resolution.

The arrangements proposed by Major Arthur and the Commissioner of Police Northern Division are very judicious. The partial absorption of the 2nd Khandesh Bheel Corps will provide the establishment of the disciplined and undisciplined Police on an efficient basis and will afford a saving of rupees three thousand eight hundred and seventy two per mensem. The Honourable the Governor in Council approves of the arrangements proposed and authorizes their adoption.

2 The Honourable the Governor in Council concurs with the Commissioner of Police Northern Division in considering that the pay of the Commandant of the Corps may be paid in future at rupees eight hundred per mensem.

I have the honour, &c.,
H. ANDERSON,
Chief Secretary.

In consequence of these measures, Government also issued the following orders :—

No. 3537 of 1860.

BOMBAY CASTLE,
17th *October* 1860.

Judicial Department.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 234 of the 14th July last, and to transmit copy of the Government resolution approving of the appointments recommended by your resolution.

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Consequent to the reorganization and reduction of the Khandesh Bheel Corps, it will be necessary to make a selection from the officers now attached to the two Corps. The Honourable the Governor in Council is therefore pleased on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Police Northern division who was formerly Magistrate of Khandesh to make the following appointments.

Lieutenant Atkins to be Superintendent of Police and Commandant of the Khandesh Bheel Corps.

Lieutenant Probyn to be Second in Command.

Captain S. Scott to be Third in Command, Lieutenant Stanley Bell to be Adjutant.

The services of Captain Rice and Lieutenant C. Grant should be placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The necessary orders have been issued.

I have the honor &c. &c.,

H. L. ANDERSON.

Chief Secretary.

The second Bhil Corps ceased to exist, after a life of three years only. As a matter of fact, it hardly can be said to have had any real separate existence from its parent. It was an additional levy to meet an emergency. Its members worked in and out with those of the first Corps, and the two were never distinguished into separate units. The number of recruits enlisted into the 2nd Corps rose to 800 in 1858. There are in existence separate indents for clothing etc. from Major Haselwood and Captain Birch. But in another letter, referring to the Bhil Agencies, Major Haselwood points out that both corps were perpetually short of one or more officers, that the officers had to serve where they were needed, and to take with them such men as they could get.

With the return of peace and the increase of prosperity, the Police sepoys began to feel the lowness of their pay. Recruits became increasingly hard to procure, and men in service complained that they could earn more by private labour. Two curious reasons for the difficulty of procuring Policemen are officially mentioned. One is, that the labouring classes were earning very high wages for

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going to the hills and cutting sleepers for the new G. I. P. Railway now being built. The other is that the intricacies of the new Penal Code were so great, that they made the Policeman's life an extremely unhappy one.

At this time the parganas of Varangaon (now Bhusaval) and Edalabad were added to the Province, having been ceded by Sindia. A considerable stretch of jungle in the north east corner was given over to Holkar. Much correspondence as to the providing of extra Police for the new additions ensued, but Government was all for economy, and little was done.

In 1861 Major Arthur was succeeded by Captain Atkins for a few months, and then by Captain Probyn, who was destined to remain as Superintendent Police and Commandant of the Bhil Corps for upwards of 20 years. In himself he forms a link between the times of the Mutiny and the present day, for there are officers now in service, or on pension, who served with him or under him. He joined in 1858 almost immediately after Amba Pani, and much to his annoyance was made to do the adjutant's work at Dharangaon. Although he missed the most glorious day of the Corps, he assisted, as recorded above, in crushing the second outbreak of Khaja Sing, and did a great deal of hard work about the Akrani pursuing and rounding up the Badvani rebels.

In the same year the office of 3rd in command of the Bhil Corps was abolished. The remaining officers were the Commandant, (also Superintendent Police and Principal Bhil Agent) the 2nd in command, (also Assistant Superintendent Police and Western Bhil Agent) and the Adjutant, (also Assistant Superintendent Police). The Southern Bhil Agency, which comprized the country where Outram began his work, and which was said to contain the wildest of all the Bhils, was now so civilized as not to require a separate Agent. Indeed, during the Mutiny when Bhagoji Naik entered the south of the Province, he seems to have reckoned on gaining some support from the Bhils of the Kannad Agency. Doubtless he had heard tales of their ancient prowess, and thought that, like their cousins in the Satpuras, if they only had a bold enough leader they would rise. But every report from 1857 onwards shews how Bhagoji misjudged the Satmala Bhils. They stood firm by the Government which had protected them, and refused either to join the rebels or to harbour

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them. The consequence was that Bhagoji and his followers did not remain in Khandesh. One reason for this improvement was no doubt the spread of cultivation. The Satmalas are not so much a range of hills as a range of cliffs. Khandesh—no doubt itself once a lake or sea,—lies at the bottom. The Deccan plateau lies on the top. Both above and below the land is level and fairly rich almost to the edge. As cultivation extended, it began to leave only the narrow range of actual cliffs as jungle. Outlaw Bhils, like wild animals, require a large extent of jungle in which to hide and from which to sally forth. The Satmala jungles were narrowed to a long and inaccessible strip, and both outlaws and wild animals yielded to cultivation. Captain Ovans and many officers down to Major Gill used to pursue the Bhils or hunt the tigers and bears. Now there is not a bear in the Khandesh Satmalas, and if a tiger is heard of, it is only an occasional wanderer.

In 1862 there was a scare, involving Khandesh and the Deccan, caused by the circulation of chapattis from village to village. This was considered by some to be an incitement to mutiny, but was treated by Government with contempt. The following extract from a letter written by the Commissioner of Police will show how difficult it was in 1858 to distinguish between bitter tragedy and broad farce.

> Government will recollect that in 1858 Major Arthur traced a similar movement (the same indeed which the Deputy Commissioner in Berar proclaimed to be rebellion involving the punishment of death) to the fulfilment of the vow of a sick barber; who having recovered from his own indigestion prepared for the village dogs a basket of pudding ends, "about the size of a nine pound cannon shot" which the Deputy Commissioner and his Medical Adviser thought were sweetened with treacle which apparently from having gone the wrong way caused much uneasiness.

Generally speaking, the Province enjoyed, from 1860 onwards, a period of rapidly advancing prosperity. The Collectorate was in charge of Mr. Ashburner, one of the ablest officers ever in the Province. It corresponded more nearly in area with the geographical Province than ever before or after. It is true that the fortress of Asirgadh, and the city and tahsil of Burhanpur, were

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tacked on to Nimad. Why this was done is not apparent, for in even comparatively recent documents Burhanpur was alluded to as the capital of Khandesh. It and Asirgadh were garrisoned by the Bombay Army, and both were saved by the Bhil Corps. It can hardly have escaped the notice of the local officers that there never was any but an artificial boundary between Raver and Burhanpur, that the people west of Asirgadh are Khandeshi and those east are Nimari, and that the natural boundary is both well defined and complete. Be this as it may, Burhanpur was gone. Sindia however had quitted the Province, even Varangaon and Edalabad being added to Khandesh. In other respects, except for the Nizam's encroachments below the Satmalas, the Province was one and complete, and was as fine a Collectorate as man could wish for. The house of Jhansi had been extirpated from Parola, for the local members of the family were implicated in the horrors of Jhansi itself, their estates were forfeited, and many of them were transported. One of them on his return from banishment petitioned for the restoration of the Parola estate. In the course of his petition he mentions that he was transferred from the Andamans to the charge of Sir J. Brooke in Sarawak. This is probably an unique experience for the stay-at-home Khandeshi.

The Bombay Agra road traversed the district from Chandore to the Sindva Pass, and was metalled throughout. The Commandant of the Bhil Corps was requisitioned for strong guards over the convict gang which was making the metalled road from Dhulia to Chalisgaon, to join the G. I. P. Railway. That line was complete as far as the Tapti, and was being pushed onwards, with the effect of diverting trade from the Sindva Pass. Everywhere branch roads were growing, and were being planted with avenues of trees. These avenues still exist, to the perpetual glory of Mr. Ashburner who was responsible for them.

Cultivation spread rapidly, the deserted villages were repopulated. The increase of the cotton trade, and the facilities for transmission, rapidly increased the resources of the Province. The Bhils found ample occupation in agriculture, labour, watching of crops and other miscellaneous duties. They were encouraged to return each to his ancestral village. Their hereditary rights as village Police were reasserted and confirmed, and their hereditary

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lands were restored. In short, the Province became as peaceful and as prosperous as any other district. The Bhil Corps automatically began to do the duty of armed Police, and that duty only, for the very good reason that there was no strictly military duty for it to perform. As a military force it lost its *raison d'être*, and this fact forced itself upon the notice of Government by degrees. In fact, as the years went by the retention of the Bhil Corps became more and more a matter of sentiment and tradition. True, the sentiment was kind and worthy, and the tradition honourable and glorious, but both had eventually to yield to the practical needs of the age.

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CHAPTER XIII.

FINAL CONVERSION INTO ARMED POLICE.

THERE is no doubt that the Corps would have been much earlier converted into Police but for its Commandant. Major Probyn was one of the most remarkable men who ever served in Khandesh. His chivalry, his prowess in arms and in sport, and his loveable character, endeared him to the Bhils as to every one else, and prevented the Corps falling to pieces so long as he commanded it.

Oliver Probyn joined the Company's service in 1843 and was appointed to the 3rd Regiment N. I. in 1844. He took part in the Sikh war of 1848-49 and was present at the siege of Mooltan and the battle of Guzerat. In 1849 he was employed with the field force North of Peshawar and in the Swat Country.

In 1853 he was adjutant of his regiment at Sholapur, and there met with an accident which compelled him to leave the regular army. He was loading an air gun, not one of the toys made nowadays, but a powerful weapon designed to kill. The weapon exploded, blowing off his right hand entirely, and two fingers of his left. It is told of him that he endured the necessary operations without any anœsthetics, and that as he watched the doctor amputating his arm, he remarked that it was being taken off too close to the injured wrist. He was told that the object was to leave him as long an arm as possible. But his idea proved correct, for in a few days it became necessary to amputate again near the elbow.

For some time Lieutenant Probyn was on the invalid list. He managed to obtain some employment in 1856, when he was sent to Australia on deputation, with what object is not stated. He returned during the Mutiny, and was for a short time employed with the Rajputana field force. Soon afterwards he was appointed to the Khandesh Bhil Corps, and to it he gave up the

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Albert S. Wolfe Captain
Commanding Wheel Corps

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remaining years of his life, for he died even as he reached Home in 1883, when he had just retired. His friends put up memorial brasses to him in St. Mary's Poona, and in the Parish Church of his home with this inscription.

In memory of Major Oliver Probyn, C.I.E.

YOUNGEST SON OF JOHN PROBYN, ESQ., OF MANOR HOUSE, LONGHOPE IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.
LATE OF THE 3RD REGIMENT OF BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY, AND FOR TWENTY-SIX YEARS,
BHEEL AGENT AND SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE IN THE PROVINCE OF KHANDESH.
A MAN OF PURE HEART, BRAVE, HONEST, AND TRUE, HE WON THE CONFIDENCE AND ESTEEM OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RESPECT AND AFFECTION OF ALL AMONG WHOM HE SERVED.
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES, WHO UNITE IN LAMENTING THE LOSS OF A GALLANT OFFICER, AND A VALUED FRIEND.
HE DIED IN LONDON ON THE 29TH JULY 1883, WITHIN A MONTH AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FROM INDIA.

He had only three fingers out of ten, and those on his left hand. Yet he wrote a clear and characteristic hand writing. An officer still on the active list who served with him states that he could always reckon on killing two snipe right and left, usually took first spear when pigsticking, and was a fearless gentleman rider. Another says "The Sahebs loved him, and the Bhils adored him."

The courtesy of some of the members of his family has provided the following interesting account, written by one who knew him well.

> I remember well Oliver's introducing me to the Bhils as his own "gaumwallah"—(the man from the same village)—the greatest compliment in Bhil eyes that he could pay to an unknown Sahib, and one that gave me more prestige in their eyes than I probably deserved. I played cricket with the Bhils, and got some of the best shikaris appointed to my guard. Oliver Probyn often umpired, and took a paternal interest in my welfare.
>
> He was then a noted tiger shot, and a splendid horseman. His feat in winning the Poona Derby and many other triumphs on horseback will not be forgotten by any of his contemporaries. He delighted to show his friends their first tiger, and to teach them all the wood craft he knew. He showed me my first tiger, and beat it up to me himself on his favou-

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rite elephant; and this was only the first of several tigers that I shot or assisted others to shoot in his company. Those who remember the Khandesh of those days will recall the famous shooting camps by the Tapti on the Khandesh Rajpipla frontier and the wild haunts of Damji Wassava of Sagbara whose boundary I afterwards settled when Assistant Political Agent in Rewa Kanta in 1872. Sagbara was then noted as a Cave of Adullam, frequented both by wild beasts and wilder men.

I also recall to mind in connection with Oliver Probyn and the late Major Gill of Adjunta, near the celebrated Caves, a lame tiger on 3 legs, commonly known as the 'Lungrawallah Shaitan', which Probyn intended to shoot, and had carefully posted himself for the shot. That tiger was limping straight up to Probyn, when a sepoy incautiously gave a low whistle. This the tiger heard and promptly changed his course and came opposite to my tree sitting down on its haunches like a huge cat, and holding up its damaged fore paw. I took my chance and the tiger fell to my shot. Probyn though sorely disappointed at his own ill luck praised me for the shot which rid the neighbourhood of a weird beast which being crippled was expected to become a maneater, but he did not forgive the careless sepoy who whistled at the wrong time, and spoilt his chance. I can hear him now in very fluent Hindustani admonishing that sepoy in terms which the Bhils very well understood and greatly enjoyed. The relatives of that sepoy must have squirmed if they could have heard the Sahib's 'winged words' addressed to their luckless caste man. Doubtless they had often heard the same before from 'kala log' when they were drunk, but the Sahib's vernacular compliments were far more important and were reserved for great occasions.

Probyn's Monsoon head quarters were at Dhurungaum and there I also lived for one or two seasons in company with H. E. M. (now Sir Evan) James and Henry Scannell, Assistant Superintendent of Police. Probyn's Police Assistants at this time were Captain Frank Wise, Captain Gordon Birdwood, and H. Scannell, all alas now gone. Probyn was a little king

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in his own way at Dhurungaum, worshipped by the Bhils as Outram was before him, and beloved and honoured by all his English friends. Besides being an excellent rifle shot he was wonderful with his shot gun at quail, snipe and florican. He used to shoot with two 28 bore shot guns very light in weight, in fact mere toys, which he could use almost with one hand, and could carry all day without fatigue. He kept himself in wonderful riding condition by great abstemiousness in food, and drinking very little ; but he was noted amongst his English friends for his skill in making 'cocktails', and cunning small drinks which he could vary at will according to the taste of his guests. He was one of the most companionable men I ever knew, and the time I spent in Khandesh from 1869 to November 1871 serving under Lionel Ashburner C.S.I. as Collector, C.B. (afterwards Sir Charles) Pritchard K.C.S.I., H.E.M. (afterwards Sir Evan) James, and Oliver Probyn, I look back upon as some of the pleasantest in my whole service.

Of Probyn's career after I left Khandesh I have no personal knowledge, but I often used to meet him when I was Political Assistant in Rewa Kanta and Assistant Resident at Baroda. Those who remember the hospitable Breach Candy bungalow of the three brothers Campbell with their beautiful garden, and excellent badminton court, can recall Oliver Probyn's wonderful skill at that game, playing as he did with his crippled left hand and using his bat as well as the best of us. All three brothers were like myself great admirers of Oliver Probyn, or Probyn Bhao (Brother P.) as he was commonly called by his intimates in those days. Major Probyn's public services have been commemorated in the tablets erected to his memory both at Poona and at Linghope County Gloucester, where his father resided. By those who knew him as I did he will never be forgotten. He died unmarried leaving behind him the memory of a brave and simple nature *sans peur et sans reproche.* Such men are always scarce.

On one occasion Nimlya Naik, a Bhil leader who was associated with Bhimya in his depredations in Badvani State, was so hard pressed by the troops that he crossed the frontier into Khandesh,

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leaving all behind him, including his child, who was accidentally killed in the pursuit. He ran into Probyn's camp, entered his tent, fell at his feet and demanded sanctuary. This could not be offered to an outlawed dacoit, but as it had been demanded, Probyn said that Nimlya would not be arrested in Khandesh provided he left it within 48 hours. At the same time he advised Nimlya to go at once to his pursuers' camp and surrender. For this act of combined chivalry and good judgment Probyn was commended by Government.

Old Bhils still living who served under Probyn confess to having had a respect for the shrewd blows which he was able to inflict with the hook he wore on his right arm or the dogwhip he habitually carried. But they combined this fear with a real respect for him as a gallant officer and a fearless hunter and with a love for him as a friend and patron.

So great was his prowess in sport, that he was allowed the use of several Government elephants for many years for the express purpose of killing the tigers which infested the western and northern jungles. The Agency reports contain the thanks of Government year by year for the good service done in this way.

Such was the last great commandant of the Khandesh Bhil corps. Worse mutilated than Nelson, he had all Nelson's dash and vigour, and commanded as much as Nelson the affections of his men. That he had not the same opportunities as Nelson of showing his prowess in the field, is hardly his fault.

In 1872 a Bhil named Jagtya collected a band in the Badvani hills and began to plunder. Preparations were made to oppose him, but he was defeated and taken by Holkar's Troops before he reached Khandesh.

In 1879 Captain Probyn was ordered to Poona with a detachment of the Bhil Corps to take part in the operations against the outlaw Vasudeo Phadke. This was the last occasion on which the Corps served outside Khandesh, and it is gratifying to read that the service was well performed. In the same year there was a scare in Khandesh owing to the discovery of sympathizers with Vasudeo who were collecting men and funds for him. At the same time a series of dacoities were committed in the south of the Province. It was feared that an organized rising was in progress, but the fears were proved to be groundless.

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Various officers served under Probyn from time to time, at least three of whom afterwards rose to the position of Inspector-General of Police. Their services were no doubt many and distinguished, but they won their distinction elsewhere. Civilian Police Officers were admitted to the Corps. The native Officers were refused commissions, and treated as Policemen. Probyn himself signed himself always as Superintendent, not as Commandant. On one occasion he wished for more unarmed Police, and in his letter submitting the proposals he speaks of "a transfer from the armed to the unarmed Police.

Nothing remained for the Bhil Corps to do, except ordinary Police routine duties. While Probyn still commanded, little was said, but soon after he left, it was urged that the Bhils were not the best type of men for such duties, that the Corps had outlived its usefulness, and might well be disbanded. In truth, ordinary, regular, uneventful work has no attractions for Bhils. Great efforts, almost superhuman exertions, to obtain sport or plunder, they cheerfully undertake, but always in the hope of subsequent periods of idleness. The regular drill of a regiment to them seems purposeless, just as the methodical labourer of an artificer or a mill hand is intolerably dull.

Before striking the final blow, Government consulted several officers of experience. It is noteworthy that one and all, though recommending the change, shewed much regret that it had to be made. The name of Outram, the past services of the Corps, the picturesque nature of the Bhils, and above all the indescribable charm which the Province has always had for those who have served in it, all exercized their influence. But sentiment could not stand against utility and common sense, and the final orders, published in July 1891, are here reproduced.

POLICE ESTABLISHMENT.

Redistribution of Police Force.

Resolution.

The effect of the opinions received under Government Resolution No. 1260, dated the 28th February, paragraph 3, is to confirm the view previously taken by the Governor in Council that the re-organization on the lines suggested by the Inspector-General of Police of the Bhil Corps in Khandesh is practicable, while at the same time it requires to be carried out

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with caution. The reports of Messrs. Moore and Loch who have had the most recent experience, show that the corps has seriously deteriorated in smartness and efficiency while it has almost entirely lost touch with the Bhils of the hills and forests. The transformation of the Corps into the Armed Police of Khandesh, as recommended by the Inspector-General of Police, is accordingly approved; but it is desirable to prevent the rise of any suspicion in the minds of the Bhil population that in making this reform, Government is withdrawing from their race an aid to livelihood which they have enjoyed for more than half a century. In carrying out the reorganization, therefore, the whole existing number of Bhils in the Corps, except those who are entitled to full pension and whom it is desirable to retire at once, should be transferred to the Armed Branch of the Khandesh Police and in order not to part hastily with the old designation, the official title of that Branch should for the present, be the "Khandesh Armed Police (Bhil Corps)." The reduction to 600 in the strength of the Corps is sanctioned, subject to the report of the Committee appointed by Government Resolution No. 2391, dated the 29th April 1891, but the reductions should be effected gradually, and as far as possible Bhils should continue to be recruited up to their present strength in the Corps, if fit men can be found. Under no circumstances should the number of Bhils in the armed Branch be allowed to fall below 200. Should the improved rates of pay recommended by the Inspector-General of Police be finally accepted by Government, the Governor in Council thinks that the difficulty now experienced in obtaining efficient recruits from the hill Bhils will to some extent disappear. Government indeed agree with Mr. Loch in thinking there is no obvious reason why Bhils of sufficient intelligence should not be found for service in the Unarmed Branch.

It will be noted that the old name is still kept up, and Bhils are not excluded from the ranks. In fact there are even now serving line bred veterans who have seen Probyn, whose grandfathers knew Outram, whose sons are trained for the Police, and whose original homes are forgotten.

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CHAPTER XIV.

FAREWELL.

SO ends the story of the parent of Indian Local Corps. Its life was a bare 66 years, and the last 30 of those years were peaceful and inactive.

The bungalow at Dharangaon where Outram and his successors lived is pulled down, and its site is occupied by a garden and monument. The parade ground is ploughed up and turned into cotton fields. The Police have left Dharangaon for Dhulia and Jalgaon. The Province itself, shorn of four counties to form part of Nasik District, has been further subdivided into two districts of moderate size.

The Dangs, the Mewas States, and the Akrani, the last haunts of the Bhil freebooters, have been reduced to a state of respectability bordering on dullness. Only in the occasional years when failure of the monsoon brings failure or distress do the Bhils shew signs of their old habits. They never form gangs so powerful as not to be easily dealt with by the Police, but there have been even of late years outlaws whose daring, cunning and generosity have called Robin Hood to mind, who have shewn sport to their pursuers, and have died game.

Could Outram, or Briggs, or Ovans revisit Khandesh, they would hardly recognize the country, and if they did, they would probably vote it monstrously uninteresting. Intersected with railways and roads, almost every available acre under the plough, the Province is one of the mainstays of the Bombay cotton market. Prosaic and commercial it may be, yet there is a charm about Khandesh. Its people are stay-at-home country folk, with the failings of their class, but also their virtues. Hospitality never fails, loyalty is permanent, and the remembrance of byegone days, and the great

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men who lived in them, is always fresh. It is true that the people are largely illiterate, so that traditions are handed on by word of mouth. A farseeing reform may be ascribed to Propert Raja, which really was due to Ashburner Bahadur, or a sporting anecdote be related of Probyn which really dates from Outram. What matters it? The spirit is there, though the names be altered.

The climate has no doubt improved with the removal of the jungle, but it is still not of the best. A roll of officers of the Corps from Outram to Probyn is attached. No regimental records are available, and the names have been gathered from files and gazettes. Further information where possible has been obtained from the regiments to which the officers belonged. It is meagre and incomplete, but even so it is clear that several good men laid down their lives for the Province, after suffering from fever and the severity of the climate.

Outram was content to spend in Khandesh ten of the best years of his life, to found the Bhil Corps, which proved an example to many parts of India. Several of the corps modelled on the Khandesh pattern are still doing good work. Morris and Probyn, to mention only two of the most prominent commandants, were content to live many years in the Province, and give it of their best. Others might be named in more recent days who have lived and died in and for Khandesh. Wherein the charm lies, why the old Khandesh officer should always have an affection for the Province, why men are pleased to curse the climate and yet prefer to remain in it, these are questions which admit of many answers. Suffice it to say, that the charm exists, and in whatever it may consist, it at any rate is the originating cause of this little book.

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ROLL OF OFFICERS.

Date.

1825 May.—Commandant J. Outram, Lieut., 23rd Regiment N. I.

1827.—Commandant, Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant, [1]Lieut. Beck (Regiment not stated).

1828.—Commandant, Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant. Douglas A. Graham, Lieut., 19th Regiment N. I.

1830.—Commandant, Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant, Thomas Frazer,[2] Lieut. European Regiment, attached to the 18th Regiment N. I. at Asirgadh. (officiating for Lieut. Graham on leave.)

1831.—Commandant Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant, Lieut. Graham.

1833.—Commandant, Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant, [3]W. J. Morris, Ensign, 9th Regiment N. I. (officiating for Lieut. Graham).

1834.—Commandant Lieut. Outram.
Adjutant, Lieut. Graham.

1835 July.—Commandant Capt. Outram.
2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Graham.
Adjutant, Lieut. Morris.

Date

1835 Novr.—Commandant, Lieut. Graham.
2nd-in-Command, [4]Lieut. T. H. Browne, Fort Adjutant, Asirgadh, 23rd Regiment N. I.
Adjutant, Lieut. Morris.

1838.—Commandant, Lieut. Graham.
2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Morris.
Adjutant, J. W. Auld, [5]Lieut., 26th Regiment N. I.

1841.—Commandant, Capt. Morris.
2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Auld.
Adjutant, J.L.P. Hoare, [6]Lieut. 13th Regiment N. I.

1842.—Commandant, Capt. Morris.
2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Auld.
Adjutant. J. Hunter, [7]Ensign, 4th Regiment (A Rifle Corps) all officiating. Capt. Graham on deputation.

1843.—Commandant, Capt. Graham.
2nd-in-Command, Capt. Morris.
Adjutant, Lieut. Auld.

1844 Feb.—Commandant, Capt. Morris.
2nd-in-Command } Lieut. Auld.
Adjutant }

[1] Lieutenant Beck died soon after joining.

[2] No further record available. A Captain A. F. D. Frazer of the 18th Native Infantry died in 1836. Possibly a mistake in initials has been made.

[3] In 1854 Captain Morris was Brevet Major. He went on long sick leave, which had to be extended till January 1858. But he only landed in Bombay, his health was so bad that he could do no duty. He was allowed to remain on the sick list until he retired in May 1858 on the pension of a Colonel.

[4] Lieutenant Browne died on duty in Jamner Taluka.

[5] Ensign 1827, Lieutenant 1838. Appears never to have rejoined his Regiment, but to have remained in Civil employ. Gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel, 18th May 1853.

[6] Promoted Captain, February 1850, and immediately transferred to the Invalid Establishment at his own request. While in Khandesh he fell sick, and had to ask to leave the Corps.

[7] Afterwards Brigade Major at Baroda and Staff Officer at Shikarpur. Went to Europe on sick leave in 1847, and retired in 1851.

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ROLL OF OFFICERS—*contd.*

Commandant.

Date.

1844 July.—Commandant, 2nd-in-Command, Adjutant } Capt. Morris.

1844 Aug.—Commandant Capt. Morris, 2nd in-Command, Capt. Auld, Adjutant, James Rose, Lieut., [8]15th Regiment N. I.

1845.—Commandant, Capt. Morris. 2nd-in-Command, Capt. Auld. 3rd-in-Command, Lieut. Rose. Adjutant, H. W. d'Arcy [9]Lieut. 1st Grenadier Regiment N. I.

1848.—Commandant, Capt. Morris. 2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Rose. 3rd-in-Command, C. P. Rigby, Lieut., 16th Regiment N.I. Adjutant Lieut. d'Arcy.

1849.—Commandant Capt. Morris. 2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Rigby. 3rd-in-Command F. A. C. Kane,[10] Lieut., 15th Regiment N. I. Officiating, Lieut. Rose on leave. Adjutant, Lieut. d'Arcy.

1850.—Commandant, Capt. Morris. 2nd-in-Command, Capt. Rose. 3rd-in-Command, Lieut. Kane. Adjutant, Lieut. d'Arcy.

1851.—Commandant, Capt. Morris. 2nd in-Command, Capt. Rose. 3rd-in-Command, Lieut. Kane.

Date.

Adjutant, F. W. M. Atkins [11]Lieut., 20th Regiment N. I.

1852.—Commandant, Capt. Morris. 2nd-in-Command, Capt. Rose. 3rd-in-Command, F. G. Newnham, Lieut., 23rd Regiment N. I. Adjutant, Lieut. Atkins.

1855.—Commandant, Capt, Rose. 2nd in-Command, Lieut. Newnham. 3rd-in-Command, Adjutant } Lieut. Atkins.

1856.—Commandant, Major A.[12] M. Haselwood, 3rd Regiment N. I. 2nd-in-Command, Capt. H. Birch, 31st Regiment N. I. 3rd-in-Command, Lieut. Atkins. Adjutant Lieut. Kennedy.

1857.—*1st K. B. C.* Commandant, Major Haselwood. 2nd-in-Command, Capt. H. F. Davies, 29th Regiment N. I. Adjutant, Lieut. A. Bell.

2nd K. B. C. Commandant, Capt. Birch. 2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Atkins. Adjutant, Lieut. T. Thatcher, 11th[13] Regiment N. I.

[8] Commanded the Satara Local Corps 1858-1861. Retired in 1861 as Major.

[9] Retired in 1853 as Lieutenant.

[10] Sent back to his regiment 1852. Was Assistant Magistrate in Thana, Ahmednagar and Khandesh. Retired in 1861 as Major.

[11] No trace found of this officer after 1861. In 1857 he was transferred for a short time to Ahmedabad as Assistant Superintendent of Police.

[12] Ensign 1828, Lieutenant 1833, Captain 1844. Served at the siege and surrender of Mooltan, 1848-49. Was on staff duty from 1849. Proceeded on sick leave, May 1859. Died on leave 22nd January 1860.

[13] Afterwards served as D. S. P., Ahmednagar and Poona, and commanded the 28th, 20th and 11th Regiments Native Infantry successively. Retired in 1881 as Major General.

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ROLL OF OFFICERS—*contd.*

Commandant.

Date.	
	Between 1858 and 1860 many changes, substantive and officiating occurred. Some of the officers named appear never actually to have joined.
	Lieut. Atkins officiated in Command of both 1st and 2nd K. B. C.
	Lieut. Thatcher officiated as 2nd-in-Command, 1st K. B. C.
	Captain C. T. Palin, 19th Regiment N. I. was 2nd-in Command, 1st K.B.C.
	Lieut. Stanley Scott, 2nd European Regiment L. I. was Adjutant and officiated as 2nd-in-Command, 2nd K.B.C.
	Lieut. O. Probyn, Invalid Establishment, was Adjutant, 2nd K.B.C., and officiated as 2nd-in-Command, 1st K.B.C.
	Major Arthur was Commandant, 1st K.B.C.
	Capt. A. W. Graham was 2nd-in-Command, 1st K. B.C.
	Lieut. G. R. Goodfellow, 15th Regiment N. I. was Adjutant 2nd K.B.C.
	Lieut. C. Grant, 6th Regiment N. I. was Commandant, 2nd K.B.C.
	Capt. W. Rice, 25th Regiment N. L. I. was Commandant, 2nd K.B.C.
	In 1860 the 2nd Khandesh Bhil Corps was abolished.
	1860.—Commandant Lieut. Atkins.
	2nd-in-Command, Lieut. Probyn.
	3rd-in-Command, Capt. S. Scott.
	Adjutant, Lieut. Stanley Bell, 2nd Regiment N. I.
	1862—Commandant, Capt. Probyn.
	2nd-in-Command, Capt. S. Scott.
	Adjutant, Lieut. H. S. Daniell,[14] Adjutant Guzarat Irregular Horse. 3rd Light Cavalry.

[14] Promoted Captain 1874. Subsequently rose to be Lieutenant Colonel. For many years Chief Constable of Herfordshire.

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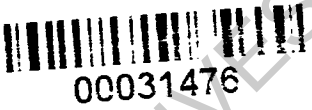

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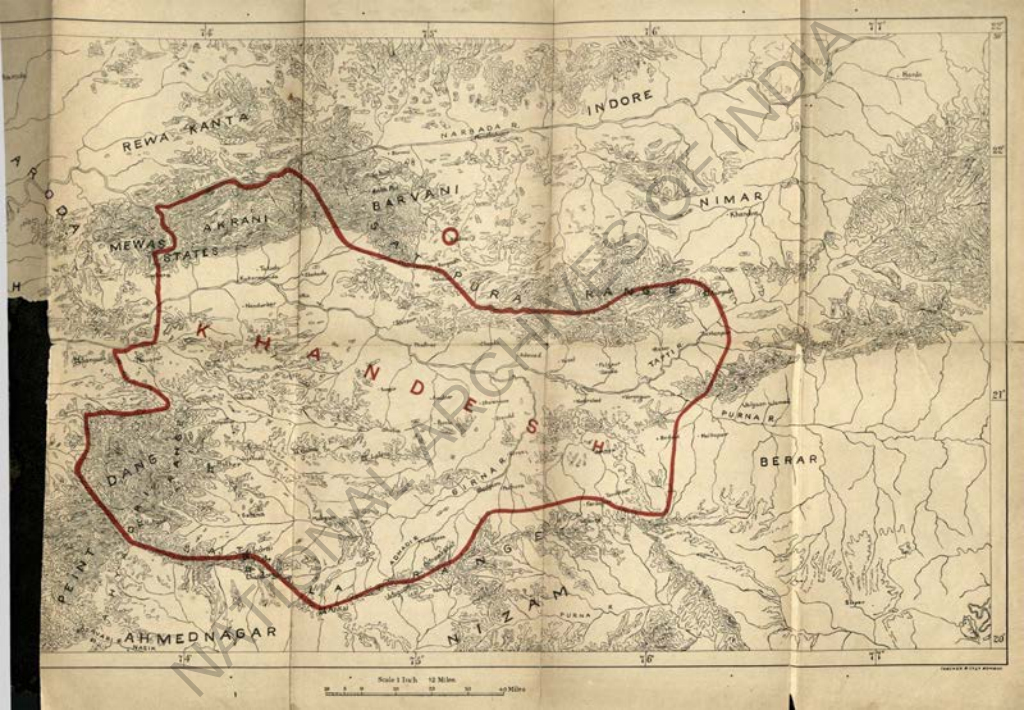

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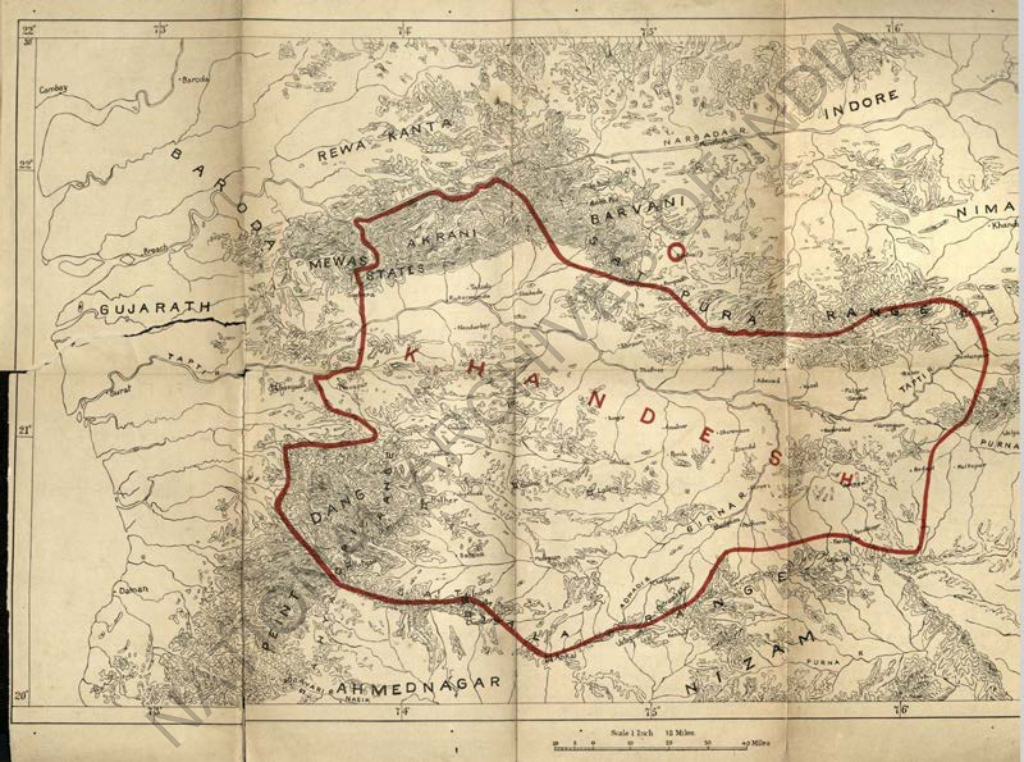
Cambay
Baroda
BARODA
REWA KANTA
INDORE
NARBADA R.
BARVANI
SATPURA RANGE
NIMA
Khand
MEWAS STATES
AKRANI
GUJARATH
Broach
TAPTI R.
Surat
KHANDESH
DANGS
Dharampur
Peint
Daman
AHMEDNAGAR
Nasik
BALAGHAT RANGE
NIZAM
PURNA R.
PURNA
Scale 1 Inch 10 Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

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